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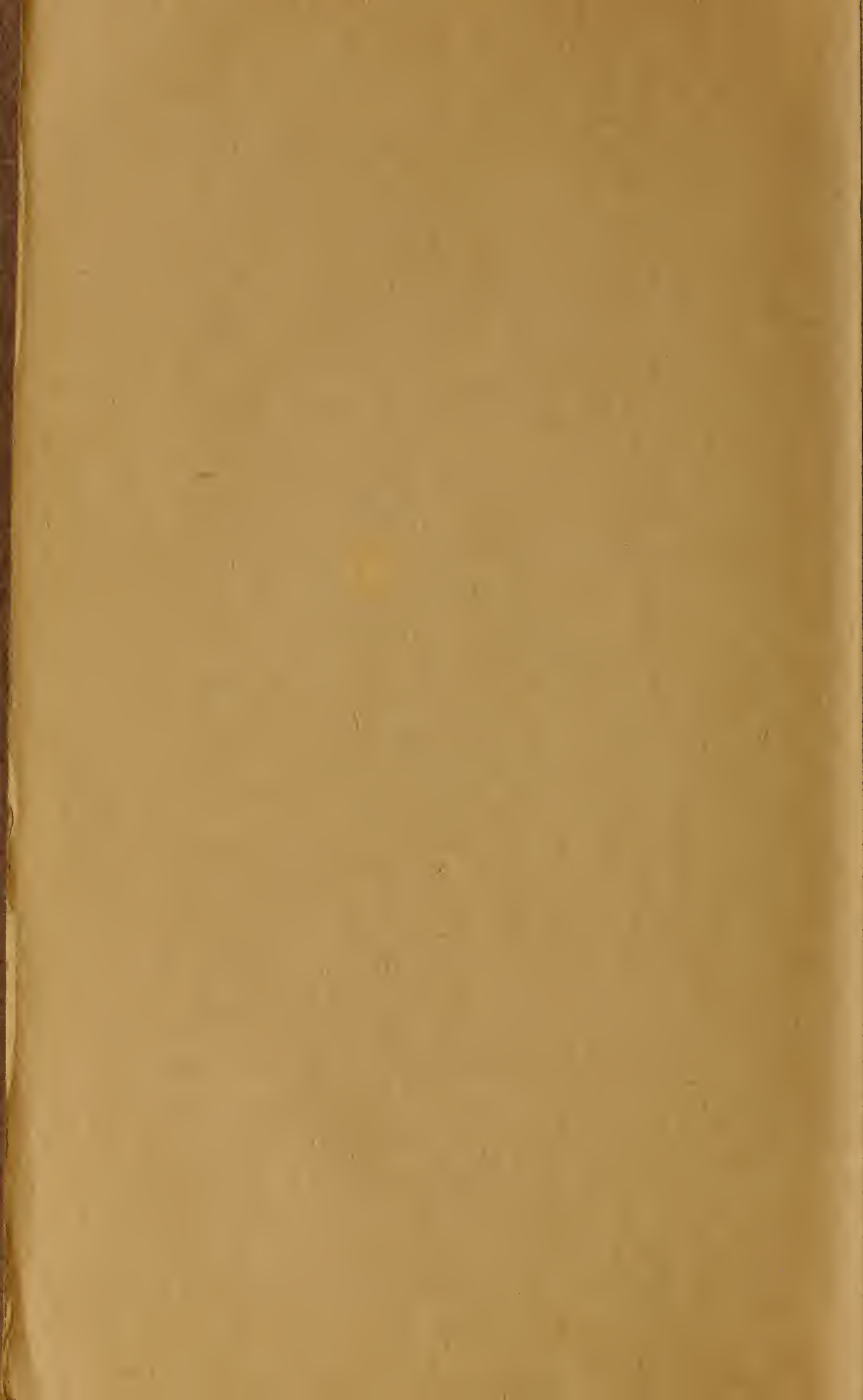


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# THE HEXAEMERAL LITERATURE

A STUDY OF THE GREEK AND LATIN COMMENTARIES ON GENESIS

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS  
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

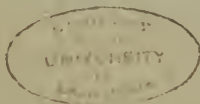
(DEPARTMENT OF GREEK)

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BY

FRANK EGGLESTON ROBBINS

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## PREFACE

An account of the commentaries on the creation story of Genesis might easily be expanded to many times the size of that here presented. The present study attempts rather to formulate concisely the development of Genesis interpretation, from its antecedents in Greek philosophy through the church writings, to the time of Milton. The question of literary form and the consideration of any but Latin, Greek, and English works bearing directly upon Genesis have been neglected in order to secure this end. It is the author's hope that the adoption of this plan in treating a class of literature which extends over such a long period of time and which as a whole has never previously been the subject of investigation will excuse the necessary shortcomings which it involves and increase the general usefulness of the essay.

The index contains an alphabetical list of authors of *Hexaemera* and others to whom reference is made, and under their names have been added bibliographical data and short accounts of those not accorded special mention in the study proper.

I wish here to express the warm thanks I owe to Professor Paul Shorey of the University of Chicago for suggesting to me this investigation and for his invaluable help at all times during its progress; to Professor Elmer Truesdell Merrill of the University of Chicago and to Professor William Arthur Heidel of Wesleyan University for the inspiration and practical help that have come to me from association with them, and to the editors of the *American Journal of Theology* for permitting me to reprint here from their journal of April, 1912, the first chapter of this study.

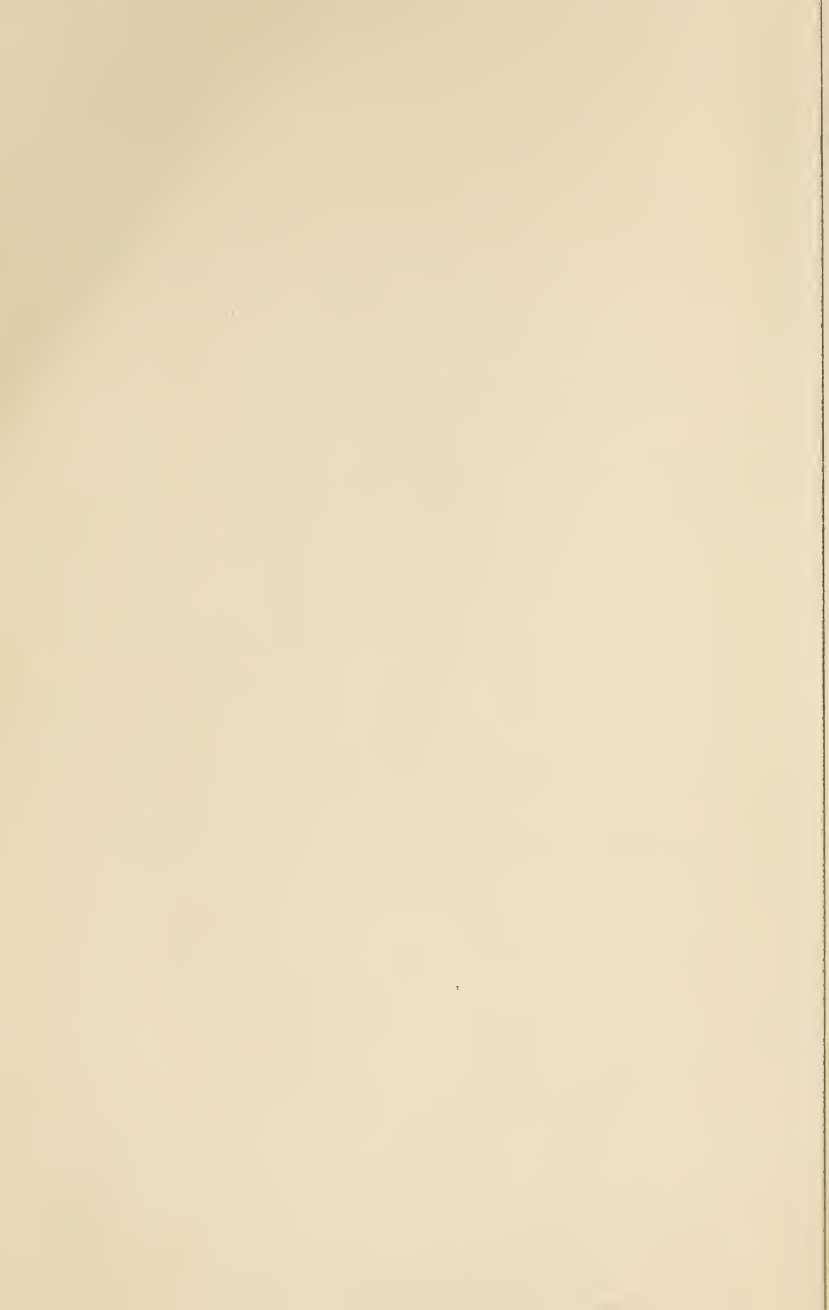
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## CHAPTER I

### THE INFLUENCE OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY ON THE EARLY COMMENTARIES ON GENESIS<sup>1</sup>

"Hexaemeron" is the title of certain treatises and series of sermons written by the Fathers of the Christian church commenting on the story of the creation of the world as told in Genesis, sometimes a simple exegesis and sometimes an allegorical version of the scriptural story.<sup>2</sup> The use of the name may be extended to cover the whole body of literature dealing with the subject, including formal or incidental<sup>3</sup> accounts of the creation of the world, based upon Genesis, and poetical versions of the narrative. The works of this class extend in time from the *De opificio mundi* of Philo Judaeus (cir. 40 A.D.) to Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

As is the case with other classes of literary composition, so the

<sup>1</sup> Most of the authors cited are commentators on Genesis, and when a simple page reference is given, it is to be understood that it is to the commentary on Genesis of the author in question; for convenience, the Migne Greek and Latin *Patrologiae* have in most cases been cited.

For complete bibliography see the index. The following abbreviations for books and collections have been used in the index :

BC : *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn Corpus), Bonn, 1828-78.

CV : *Corpus [Vindobonense] Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum Academiae litterarum Cacsareae Vindobonensis*, 1866 ff.

Christ : W. von Christ, *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur*, München, 1890 ff.

Krumbacher : K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2d. ed., München, 1897.

MPG, MPL : Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca*, Paris, 1857 ff., *Series Latina*, Paris, 1844 ff.

Otto : J. C. T. Otto, *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum Saeculi Secundi*, Jena, 1851-81.

<sup>2</sup> Strictly the name should be ἡ Ἑξαήμερος [sc. κοσμοποιῖα, δημιουργία], but the neuter form came into use in connection with Basil's work. The first occurrence of the word is probably in Philo, *Leg. All.* 93, 8; it is found also in Theophilus, *Ad. Autol.* II, 12, and later *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., the late Greek and Byzantine chronologies frequently began with a chapter on creation, as did Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*.

Hexaemera tended to conform to certain types established by a few pioneers. Subsequent authors not only followed the general outlines that had been laid down by the greater writers, and reproduced their topics, but even copied their phraseology. Imitation is commoner in this branch of literature than in almost any other, and the majority of the Hexaemera are consequently lacking in originality.

At the same time the Hexaemeral writers were also consciously or unconsciously under the influences that came from without, from philosophy and science. The men of the early church, compelled to meet the arguments of pagans, had to make their own accounts capable of standing the test of scrutiny; and often, going beyond a mere defense of their faith, they attempted to prove that the Christian doctrines, including those of Genesis, are in agreement with the best pagan thought or superior to it. As the church acquired power, the polemic tone grew sharper. Moreover, the mingling of philosophical material with that furnished by the sacred text took place the more easily because many of the great Fathers had been educated in pagan surroundings and personally accepted whatever of science and philosophy did not conflict with their religion. The philosophical elements which in this way became incorporated in the tradition form the subject of the present discussion.

Plato is the first of the philosophers notably to influence Hexaemeral thought. Although the pre-Socratics devoted most of their energies to the study of material Nature, very little trace of them, in scattered citations, is found in the tradition. They tended toward materialistic views, and according to them Deity took little or no part in the making of the universe. Plato, however, in this important point agreed with the Christians. In the *Timaeus*, although that dialogue cannot be asserted to be the formal expression of his own literal belief,<sup>1</sup> he presented for the first time an

<sup>1</sup> How seriously Plato took the *Timaeus* is a question that cannot be answered exactly, but whether he introduced the Demiurge as a purely mythical figure, or had some measure of belief in a Deity, his feeling in the dialogue is certainly lofty and religious. The question was much discussed in ancient times whether Plato actually believed in a creation in time, or presented it as such in the *Timaeus* for literary and

account of the creation of the world by a Deity who orders it for its own best advantage.<sup>1</sup>

In addition the *Timaeus* gives a plausible account of the material world, and it is a fundamental principle of the dialogue that material things conform to a-priori ideal forms and ultimately to the best possible ideals. The philosophical schools took it to be the formulation of Plato's deepest thought and it was used as the basis of their theories.

Introducing the cosmological portion of the dialogue, Plato states the principles on which his theories are based, a part of the work which was especially well known. Things are either conceptual, and eternally, changelessly existent, or they are sensible and subject to becoming and perishing (27D ff.). Everything that becomes must have some cause (28A), and if the artificer of the thing looks to a pattern that is changeless, the result is fair; if he looks to the created as a pattern, the result is not fair. The

pedagogical reasons. See Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, II, 1, 792; Archer-Hind on *Tim.* 30A; Paul Shorey, *A.J.P.* X, 48. The Hexaemeral writers understood him to believe in a creation in time.

<sup>1</sup> The teleological principle does not appear first in Plato, but he was the first to make it all important in his cosmology and to ascribe creation to a personal, reasoning, feeling Deity (with the reservation indicated in the preceding note). The pre-Socratics uniformly looked upon "creation" as the evolution of the world from chaos to a better state, without, however, making the development a purposed process. Heraclitus made the advance of stating that cosmic action depends upon law; cf. Benn, *The Greek Philosophers*, I, 24-25; Zeller, I, 2, 663 ff. Diogenes of Apollonia asserted that the first principle must be capable of thought because "if one is willing to consider, one would find that things (like day, night, summer, winter, rain, wind, and fair weather) are arranged in the best possible way," and without reason such an arrangement could not have been made (Diog. Ap. *ap. Simp. Phys.*, 152, 11 ff.). But his reason-endowed first principle is air, which pervades all things; and like the other pre-Socratics, Diogenes seems to have lost himself in mechanical speculations as to the air. The reasoning element could not in any case have been characterized like the Demiurge. The teleological idea however was discussed at the time of Diogenes, as is shown by the passages (Xen. *Comm.* i, 4; iv, 3) treated by S. O. Dickerman, *De argumentis quibusdam e structura hominis et animalium petitis* (Halle, 1909), and there seems to have been a treatise by an author as yet unknown on the providential arrangement of the parts of the human body; cf. also J. Adam, *Religious Teachers of Greece*, 349. For later antiquity, however, and for the authors we are considering, it is clear that Plato is most often the ultimate source for the teleological ideas.

world is visible and tangible, and is therefore the product of becoming; it must therefore have a creator (28B).<sup>1</sup> But it is a hard task to discover the maker and founder of this world, and having discovered him it is impossible to tell of him to all men; and therefore Plato turns to the examination of the pattern used by the Demiurge (28C). Since the world is fair and the Demiurge good, the pattern must have been an eternal one (29A). Now the reason why the creator made this world is that he is good, and therefore can begrudge nothing, but wishes to liken everything as nearly as possible to himself (29E). He therefore took the chaotic mass of matter<sup>2</sup> and brought it into order, this being better than disorder (30A). But the creator must always act for the best; finding then that that which has reason is always better than that which has not, and that reason cannot exist without soul, he made this universe a living creature with soul and mind (30B). The pattern then is an ideal living thing, embracing in itself all ideal beings, just as the world contains all material beings; it is the fairest of ideas and in every respect perfect (30CD), and it is one, for if there were two or more such, there would be a still higher idea that would embrace them.

The influence of this portion of the *Timaeus* upon the Hexaemera was immense. It is not necessary to assert that teleology came into Christian literature from Plato alone, but it must be conceded that the *Timaeus* is the first great cosmology wherein design plays the chief rôle, and that in the Genesis story as it stands the notion of preconception in the divine mind is not present. Certainly many of the Hexaemeral writers employed Platonic material in their interpretation of Genesis.

To be more specific, we find in Plato the idea that God is changelessly good and can perform only the best acts (29E-30A), and it is likewise a Platonic principle that God cannot be the cause of anything evil.<sup>3</sup> His goodness is the reason for creation (29E).

<sup>1</sup> Philo 3, 17 ff. uses this argument; his introduction is much like Plato's, but with Stoic elements.

<sup>2</sup> The so-called "secondary matter," said by Zeller, II, 1, 730 (following him Bäumker, *Das Problem der Materie*, Münster, 1890, 142 ff.), to be among the mythological elements of the *Timaeus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Tim.* 42DE; *Rep.* 379B, 617E.

All these thoughts are common topics of the Hexaemera, especially the last. It is directly quoted by Philo and Philoponus and occurs as part of the tradition throughout its course.<sup>1</sup> The idea that God cannot be the cause of evil appears in various connections in the Hexaemeral literature.<sup>2</sup> In the polemic against astrology we find the argument that if the stars presage evil the blame for the latter must fall upon their maker, God, and this is impossible.<sup>3</sup> Nor would our writers admit that God is the cause of the harm done by animals, poisonous plants and reptiles, or thorns; they escape all these difficulties by saying that man's sin was the cause of all.<sup>4</sup>

The assertion that there is an ideal pattern is echoed throughout the Hexaemera in various forms and developments, all of them to be traced ultimately to the *Timaeus* as the source. The "intelligible world" of Philo Judaeus is directly suggested by the pattern in the *Timaeus*, although the two are by no means identical. For Plato, the pattern is the idea of the living thing, independently

<sup>1</sup> Philo 6, 13; Philoponus 273, 4; 240, 16; Basil 9A; Origen *De prin.* II, 9, 6; Chrysostom *Hom. in Gen.* III, 3, p. 35; Maximus *ap.* Euthymius I, 6; Athenagoras *De resurr.* 12; pseudo-Eucherius 895B; Honorius of Autun *Elucidarium* 1112C; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* I, 4; Thierry of Chartres *Hex.* 52; Peter Lombard *Sent.* II, 1, 3; Hildebert of Le Mans 1218A; Erigena *De div. nat.* III, 2; Arnold of Chartres 1515B; Augustine *DCD* XI, 21 (citing Plato). Cf. R. Gottwald *De Gregorio Nazianzeno Platonico*, Breslau, 1906, 25.

<sup>2</sup> It was found in the pseudo-Salmonic Wisdom; Zeller III, 2, 293 and n. 5. See also Greg. Nyss., *Hex.* 81D; Philoponus 300, 2 ff.; Odo *De pecc. orig. in Max. Bibl. patr.* XXI, 228; Arnold of Chartres 1539D. Philo 25, 8 ff. (cf. *De conf. linguarum* 263, 8 ff. C-W), asserting this principle to show that God could not create the evil elements in man, but left them to the angels, is directly reminiscent of *Tim.* 42DE ff. See also Gottwald *op. cit.* 26.

<sup>3</sup> Basil 132D; Ambrose 196B; Augustine *Lit.* II, 17, 35.

<sup>4</sup> Theophilus *ad Autolycum* II, 17, p. 106; Chrysostom IX, 4, p. 79; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* I, 18; Procopius 108A; Augustine *Man.* I, 18, *Lit.* III, 18; pseudo-Eucherius 900A, 901C; Beda *Com.* 196C, 200A, *Hex.* 31D; Hugo of St. Victor 37D; Neckam *De naturis rerum* II, 156; Abelard *Hex.* 750D, 767B; Honorius *Hex.* 258D; Angelomus 120B, 122B; Peter Lombard II, 15, 3; Rupert of Deutz 231B; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.* I, 29; Albertus Magnus, *Summa de creat.* IV, 73, 5, 8; Bruno 156A; Peter Comestor 1062D, 1064A. For the idea that the rose at first had no thorns, and the like, see Milton, *P.L.* IV, 256: "Flowers of all hue and without thorn the rose;" Basil 105B; Ambrose 175C; pseudo-Eustathius 716B; Glyca 45A.

existing; while for Philo, the intelligible world is the ideal counterpart of the material world,<sup>1</sup> and it is definitely stated that God made it.<sup>2</sup> Philo was influenced by the Stoic doctrines also in this matter (*infra*, p. 15). It is in essentially the Philonic form that the doctrine of the pattern is found in the Fathers, among whom Origen may be especially mentioned. The neo-Platonists passed on the doctrine of the pattern-world to Augustine, and from his time until the middle of the twelfth century the latter was the dominating force in Christian interpretation of Genesis. At that time Platonic influence was again felt, particularly in connection with this topic; but the Christians were always loath to say that the pattern is an independently existing idea.

Another important line of Platonic influence is the notion that matter in itself resists the efforts of the Demiurge and his assistants to carry out their plans for its better ordering.<sup>3</sup> In the latter part of the dialogue, wherein the nature and affections of the human soul and body are discussed (68E ff.), the constantly-recurring motive is the contrast of the divinely made reason with the mortal portion of the soul and the mortal body—products of Necessity—and the disorder which they cause, in spite of the efforts of the helpers of the Demiurge to make the human economy as perfect as possible. This natural perversity of matter forms a metaphysical limitation on the power of the Demiurge. Similar limitation is indicated by Philo (7, 5 ff.) when he says that matter in itself is too weak to receive all the benefits that the power of God could bestow; and after many centuries the theme of the resistance of matter to the divine will again became prominent in the *De mundi universitate* of Bernard of Tours.

The doctrines concerning time in the *Timaeus* (37C–39E) are closely connected with the topic outlined above. The Demiurge wished to make the world still more like its pattern, but the pattern is eternal (*αἰώνιος*), and a thing generated cannot from this very

<sup>1</sup> E.g., he includes the ideas of earth, heaven, air, and space, 9, 4 ff. Cf. Paul Shorey, *Unity of Plato's Thought* 37, n. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Plato hints at this; *Rep.* 597C; *Tim.* 34A8. He does not, however, develop it as a doctrine.

<sup>3</sup> Plato calls this resistance Necessity. Cf. 37D, 42A, 48A, 69B, 86E; Paul Shorey, *A.J.P.* X, 61 f., on *Tim.* 48A; J. Adam, *op. cit.* 361.

fact be eternal. Therefore time, the image of eternity, moving in regular mathematical intervals was created, and the luminaries were made to mark off its periods. Time was therefore made together with the universe and did not previously exist (38B). Similarly in the *Hexaemera* eternity is distinguished from time<sup>1</sup> and the statement is made that time did not exist before creation.<sup>2</sup> In connection with this came the idea that God is not in time, a principle of which Augustine and his followers made use in answering the questions how God came to create the world so late, how an immutable God could be moved at any time to create, and what God did before creation.

The remaining portions of the *Timaeus* furnished certain Hexaemeral topics, although they are cited less frequently than the parts outlined above. After the discussion of the pattern, Plato proceeds to say that the world is material, and in order to be visible must contain fire, and to be tangible, earth (31B).<sup>3</sup> But in order to make a proportion there had to be four elements (31C), and from the fact that they are in proportion the elements are held together by a bond of friendship (32C).<sup>4</sup> The elaborate mathematical theory of the derivation of the elements from space exercised no influence on the *Hexaemera*, yet the accounts of the development of the elements from the primal chaos, as given by the Platonizing writers of the twelfth century, Bernard of Tours and Thierry of Chartres, clearly owe much to this portion of the *Timaeus*. Plato eventually derives matter from space, but in several passages (30A, 52D ff.) he speaks of matter ("secondary matter," p. 4, n. 2) as existing in chaotic form before creation, the

<sup>1</sup> Hugo of Amiens says that God precedes the world by eternity, not by time (1249B). Honorius *De imagine mundi* II, 1 applies *aeternum* to God alone; *tempora aeterna*, beginning before the world and continuing with it and after it, to the *archetypus mundus* and to the angels; *tempus* to the world. He calls the latter *umbra aevi* (cf. *Tim.* 37D). Cf. Peter Comestor 1056A, pseudo-Eustathius 720B.

<sup>2</sup> Philo 8, 5 ff.; Origen *Hom. in Gen.* 147A; Basil 13B; Ambrose 132A; Augustine *Lit.* V, 5, *Man.* I, 2; Du Bartas, p. 2, in Sylvester's translation; Hugo of St. Victor 34A; Beda *Com.* 204B; Hrabanus 444B, 453B; Remi of Auxerre 54D; Peter Lombard II, 2, 4; Bandinus II, 2; Giraldu Camb. 345; Arnold of Chartres 1516A; Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.* I, 2; Peter Comestor *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Cited by Philoponus 78, 26; 119, 1; Basil 25A; Augustine *Lit.* III, 4, 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Basil 33A.

"nurse" of material things taking on one form after another (52D), and the four elements as it were having traces of their own forms (53B). The early Hexaemeral writers had not implied that in the first-made chaos the elements were not present in their proper forms.<sup>1</sup> Bernard, however, speaks of a material first principle, *hyle*, existing in a state of confusion, taking on one quality after another, although the constant change centers about the forms of the four elements: *erat hyle naturae uultus antiquissimus, generationis uterus indefessus, formarum prima subiectio, materia corporum, substantiae fundamentum . . . irrequieta est nec potuit hyle meminisse quando uel nascentium formis uel occidentium refluxionibus intermissius adiretur . . . et quod figurarum omnium susceptione conuertitur, nullius suae formae signaculo specialiter insignitur. uerum quoquo pacto frenata est licentia discursandi, ut elementorum firmioribus inniteretur substantiis eisque quaternis uelut radicibus inhaereret materies inquieta* (*De mundi universitate* 10, 47 ff.). Noys, the "mind" of God, brings the four elements out of the confusion and the present world is developed. Thierry (*Hex.* 60-61) has reference to the same passages of the *Timaeus* when he defines the *informitas* of Gen. 1:2 as the *hyle* or chaos of the philosophers. Such was the *informitas* that little or no difference between the elements could be perceived, and this difference was overlooked by the philosophers; but Plato saw it and declared that the confusion of the elements underlay the elements, not as preceding them in time, but as confusion precedes separation.

In *Timaeus* 32C ff. the nature, shape, and motion of the material world is discussed, and with 34C the topic of the world soul is taken up. Though there is but one slight allusion to Plato's elaborate account of its making,<sup>2</sup> it is probable that even in early

<sup>1</sup> Descriptions of chaos as a confusion of already developed elements are sometimes difficult to distinguish from the Platonic chaos about to be described. This is perhaps due partially to Ovid *Met.* I, 15 ff.: *utque erat et tellus illic et pontus et aer, | sic erat instabilis tellus, innabilis unda, | lucis egens aer. nulli sua forma manebat.* The later lines *nam caelo terras et terris abscedit undas | et liquidum spisso secreuit ab aere caelum* however show that the chaos was made up of the elements. Du Bartas follows this passage, first stating that God made the elements and then that they lacked their present characteristics. There are also descriptions of a primary matter like the substrate of Aristotle, mere potentiality; cf. Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Justin *Apol.* I, chap. 60.

times certain Christians identified Plato's world soul and the Spirit of God in Gen. 1:2, for Jerome found it necessary to deny the identity of the two.<sup>1</sup> Further protests were made by the more orthodox writers of the twelfth century,<sup>2</sup> but their contemporaries Abelard, Thierry of Chartres, and Bernard of Tours, under the influence of the revival of Platonism at that time, were believers in the world soul.<sup>3</sup>

In 41A ff. the Demiurge addresses the gods.<sup>4</sup> The gods are not immortal, but shall never be destroyed without the consent of the Demiurge: to make the world complete, three other classes of beings (the inhabitants respectively of the air, earth, and water, since the gods are conceived of as fiery)<sup>5</sup> must be created (41B), but if the Demiurge himself made them they would be the equals of the gods. The immortal part of the soul therefore was made by the Demiurge, while his helpers fashioned the mortal portion and the body.

The remainder of the dialogue discusses psychology, the derivation of the elements from primary space, the properties of matter

<sup>1</sup> *Hebr. Qu. in Gen.* 987B ff.: *ex quo intellegimus non de spiritu mundi dici, ut nonnulli arbitrantur, sed de spiritu sancto, qui et ipse uiuificator omnium a principio dicitur* (cited by Strabus *Gloss. Ord.* 70B). Augustine's (earlier) attitude was more liberal; *Lib. imp.* 4, 17: *potest autem et aliter intellegi, ut spiritum dei, uitalem creaturam, qua uniuersus iste uisibilis mundus atque omnia corporea continentur et mouentur, intellegamus, cui deus omnipotens tribuit uim quandam sibi seruiendi ad operandum in iis quae gignuntur.* Jerome's objection might include in its application those whose belief was tinctured with Stoicism; *infra*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Rupert of Deutz 205D (mentioning Plato); Hugo of Amiens 1255A; Angelomus 116A; Peter Comestor 1057A.

<sup>3</sup> Abelard believed that Plato and his school held an essentially Christian doctrine of the Trinity; cf. *Theol. Chr.* I, v., especially 1144A; *Intr. ad theol.* I, xvii-xx. But in *Hex.* 735B ff. he said that "spirit of God" might be simply wind. Thierry, discussing Gen. 1:2, says that Plato called the spirit the world soul and the Christians the Holy Spirit (*Hex.* 61-62). Bernard (*De mund. univ.* 13, 147 ff.) describes the making of the world soul in language highly reminiscent of the *Timaeus*, deriving it, however, like the neo-Platonists, from the Noys by emanation. William of Conches to some extent shared these opinions (cf. K. Werner, "Wilhelms von Auvergne Verhältnis zu den Platonikern des xii. Jahrhunderts," *Sitzb. d. Ak. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, Wien, 74, 135) and mentions them in *De phil. mundi* 45D.

<sup>4</sup> Citations in Abelard 747A; Neckam 22; Philoponus 134, 24.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 39E, which is probably the source for the statements assigning one kind of being to each element, as Honorius *De imagine mundi* I, 3; Philo 51, 14-15; Giraldus Cambr. 343. Augustine *Lit. III*, 9 ascribes this view to *quidam philosophi*.

as dependent upon the shape of the elementary corpuscles, and the physiology of man, all of which may be dismissed after the discussion of a few special topics that made their way into the *Hexaemera*. Philo's passage in praise of sight and light (*De op. mund.* 17, 11 ff.) is based upon *Timaeus* 47A ff.; the statement of Philoponus (140, 5 ff.) that Plato assigned the cubical shape to the earth corpuscle is a reminiscence of *Tim.* 55D; and there are references to Plato's assertion that there are two kinds of fire—that which burns, and that which does not burn but gives off light;<sup>1</sup> as well as to the statement that coagulated blood becomes flesh and sinew (*Tim.* 82C).<sup>2</sup> Philoponus (122, 24) remarks that in the universe we cannot properly speak of "up and down" but only of "center and circumference," possibly with reference to *Tim.* 62C ff., though he was familiar with Aristotle and could have found the same in *De caelo* 268b, 20. Plato however is probably the source for the topic that man is erect in stature and thereby shows his kinship with heaven, while the beasts are inclined toward the earth.<sup>3</sup>

While the *Timaeus* is the prime source of Platonic influence among the Fathers, certain topics can be traced to other dialogues. Among these is the idea quoted from Pindar in *Theaetetus* 173E, that the mind can traverse the universe independently of the body.<sup>4</sup> Again, the very common comparison of man, the microcosm, to the universe is suggested in several Platonic passages, notably *Philebus* 29A ff., where Socrates, having shown that the body of man is

<sup>1</sup> Basil 121C; Ambrose 191D; Philoponus 76, 7 ff.; Neckam I, 71. Cf. *Tim.* 45B, 58C.

<sup>2</sup> Basil 168A; Philoponus 119, 16 ff.; Procopius 105D; Theodosius Melitenus 4, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Tim.* 90A, 92A ff. The notion is found before Plato in Xen. *Comm.* i, 4, 11. How common it was may be seen from the citations collected by S. O. Dickerman, *op. cit.*, 92 ff., to which should be added Alcimus Avitus; Ambrose 245D; Philoponus 269, 5; Augustine *Man.* I, 17, *Lib. imp.* 16, 60; Freculphus *Chron.* I, 3; Glyca 172A (citing Greg. Nyss.); pseudo-Eucherius 901A; Beda *Hex.* 29D, *Com.* 205C; Giraldus Camb. 348; Hrabanus 460C; Angelomus 122D; Wandalbert 639A; Rupert of Deutz 267D; Procopius 117B; Bernard of Tours 55, 27 ff.; Basilii Seleuc. 36AB; Peter Comestor 1063D. Ovid *Met.* I, 84-86 is often cited in this connection but is evidently not the ultimate source of the topic.

<sup>4</sup> Philo 23, 12 ff.; Ambrose 259C and *Ep.* 43, 15 (the latter cited by Cohn-Wendland, *Philonis Alex. op.* I, Lxxxx); Pisides 738 ff.; Du Bartas, 166 in Sylvester's translation.

composed of the four elements, drawn from the four elements in the universe, suggests that the soul of man may be drawn from the soul of the universe.<sup>1</sup> In *Tim.* 44D the shape of the head is compared to that of the universe, and in 81A the whole body is said to work on the same principles as those of the universe.

Plato is accorded respectful treatment, in general, by the Hexaemeral writers. There were, however, certain Platonic assumptions that the church could not accept, especially the theory of the eternity of matter,<sup>2</sup> the doctrine of metempsychosis, which Origen was accused of holding,<sup>3</sup> and the theory that the ideal pattern of creation is independent of God.<sup>4</sup>

With the exception of Philo and the Platonizing Christians of the twelfth century our writers show their familiarity with the *Timaeus* by quotation rather than by weaving it into their work. Even Philoponus, who quotes the *Timaeus* more frequently than any other Hexaemeral writer, seldom passes beyond quotation. But Platonism in its derivative forms, as has been said above,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philo 51, 6 ff.; Honorius *Elucid.* 1116B ff.; Giraldu Camb. 347; Bernard of Tours 55, 15 ff.; Arnold of Chartres 1528B ff. In a somewhat different form, comparing man and the universe in parts other than the four elements, the topic is found in the Jewish non-canonical books. Cf. also Ambrose 265A ff.; Honorius *Hex.* 258C ff., pseudo-Eustathius 749A ff.; Wandalbert 639A; Remi of Auxerre 57B; Raleigh I, 2, 5; Bernard of Tours *passim*. On the origin of the topic see Lobeck *Aglaophamus* II, 921 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The Christians probably had in mind the passages concerned with "secondary matter"; see Bäumker, *op. cit.* 143. Theophilus II, 4, p. 54 in a polemical passage mentions the Platonists especially, and in other passages of the same sort Plato probably shares the polemic with the Epicureans and pagan philosophy generally. Cf. Basil 8A; Ambrose 123A; Lactantius *Inst.* II, 8, 8; Origen *Com. in Gen.* 48A; Augustine *Man.* I, 6; Rupert of Deutz 202C; Anastasius Sinaita 857C; Procopius *Com. in Gen.* 29A ff.; Greg. Naz. *Poemata dogmatica* IV, 3-4; Maximus *ap. Eus. Praep. ev.* VII, 22 ff. The Latin writers of the Middle Ages often repeated the statement of Ambrose (123A), that Gen. 1:1 refutes Plato, who had three principles, God, the pattern, and matter, and Aristotle, who had three, matter, form, and the *operatorium*; cf. Remi 53D; Peter Lombard II, 1, 1; Bandinus II, 1; Hugo of Amiens 1251A; Hugo of St. Victor 33B; Arnold of Chartres 1515A; Peter Comestor 1055B (who adds Epicurus).

<sup>3</sup> Origen was strenuously opposed by Arnold of Chartres 1522A; Gregory of Nazianzus (*Poem. dog.* VII, 7) opposes metempsychosis. Cf. Glyca 148B; Rupert of Deutz 266B.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ambrose 124B, followed by Rupert of Deutz I, 1; Theodoretus 104A (mentioning Plato).

became an integral part of Augustine's interpretation, and through the latter to a certain extent colored all later thought.

The reason for the limited knowledge of Plato in the Hexaemeral tradition is the lapse of Greek learning in the Middle Ages. From the time of Augustine the western church knew the *Timaeus* only in translation and in citation; and during the Middle Ages the translation of Chalcidius,<sup>1</sup> which extends only through 53C, and that of Cicero<sup>2</sup> were the sole sources with the exception of such information as could be gained from citations in Augustine and the materials furnished by Macrobius, Boethius, and the *De dogmate Platonis* of Apuleius. It seems probable that Augustine did not use the Greek text but the translation of Victorinus.<sup>3</sup> Abelard, who had some knowledge of Greek, knew Plato indirectly.<sup>4</sup>

A contributory cause for the respect that is shown for Plato by the Christian writers was the belief prevalent in early times that he was acquainted with the Hebrew sacred literature and drew therefrom. This belief was founded upon the actual or supposed agreements between Plato and the Scriptures, and seems first to have been expressed by Aristobulus.<sup>5</sup> Philo asserted that the Hebrew literature was the source of Greek philosophy<sup>6</sup> and the early Christians said that Plato borrowed from the Bible.<sup>7</sup> This is common in Philoponus,<sup>8</sup> and Augustine reports that certain

<sup>1</sup> See Wrobel, *Plat. Timaeus interprete Chalcidio*, pp. xii ff. Ueberweg-Heinze, *Gesch. d. Phil.* II, 172; De Wulf, *Hist. de la phil. médiévale* (2d ed.), 150. Gunzo of Novara (d. 967) seems to have carried a copy of this translation into Germany (see G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, Bonn, 1885, 64). The short commentary by William of Conches is founded on Chalcidius.

<sup>2</sup> Becker, *op. cit.* 201, indicates that Cicero's translation was in the library at Bec.

<sup>3</sup> Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, I, 307.

<sup>4</sup> S. M. Deutsch, *Peter Abaelard*, 58; McCabe, *Peter Abelard*, 86-87, 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Ap.* Euseb. *Praep. ev.* XIII, 12 ff.; see Zeller III, 2, 277 ff. Hermippus had previously declared that Greek philosophers drew from Hebrew sources; Zeller III, 1, 302, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Zeller III, 2, 393-94, and notes.

<sup>7</sup> Justin Martyr *Apol.* I, 59-60, says that Plato took his conception of chaotic matter from Gen., chap. I, and the division of the world soul (*Tim.* 36B) from the narrative of the setting up of the cross by Moses in the wilderness.

<sup>8</sup> Philoponus 273, 4 ff. claims that *Tim.* 29E is derived from the Bible; the same is asserted (78, 15 ff.) of *Tim.* 30A; of *Tim.* 41B (4, 25; 134, 24 ff.); and of *Tim.* 37C (303, 27 ff.).

Christians thought that Plato met the prophet Jeremiah in Egypt. He points out, however, that this was chronologically impossible<sup>1</sup> and without stating that Plato and his followers knew the Scriptures simply says "None approach us nearer than they."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless in the middle ages Peter Comestor believed that Plato read the Mosaic books in Egypt and confounded the spirit of God (Gen. 1:2) with the world soul.<sup>3</sup>

No one work of Aristotle, like the *Timaeus* of Plato, was the source of Aristotelian influence on the Hexaemera; much philosophical and scientific material, however, was drawn from his writings, and during the period when he was the dominating philosopher Aristotelian authority is constantly cited. It would be an endless and profitless task to point out all the Aristotelian elements in the Hexaemera, and we shall therefore consider but a few of the more important lines of his influence.

It has already been stated that the Platonic theory of the elements, with its elaborate mathematical demonstration, was not employed by the Hexaemeral writers. The simpler Aristotelian theory of the interaction of the elements by means of their like qualities however was generally adopted. In *De generatione et corruptione* ii, 4 Aristotle assigns two qualities out of the four, hot-cold, wet-dry, to each element, opposites never being joined. Fire is hot and dry; air, hot and wet; water, cold and wet; earth, cold and dry. When the dryness of the fire overcomes the wetness of the air the two merge, and through such an intermediate change an element can unite with the one, both of whose qualities are opposite to its own. Similar explanations of interaction are frequently made in the Hexaemera.<sup>4</sup> We also find mention of

<sup>1</sup> DCD, VIII, 11. Augustine says that he had formerly believed the report and had included it in his writings (i.e., *De doctr. Chr.* II, 28).

<sup>2</sup> DCD, VIII 5.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Comestor 1057A: *hunc locum male intellexit Plato dictum hoc putans de anima mundi*; cf. Rupert of Deutz 205D. Other passages of Peter Comestor (e.g., 1061D, 1066C) similarly accuse Plato of mistaking the meaning of the Scriptures.

<sup>4</sup> Basil 89C ff.; Ambrose 163D ff.; Chalcidius *Com. in Tim.* 316; Honorius *De im. mund.* I, 3; Du Bartas, 31, in Sylvester's translation; Philoponus 180, 19 ff.; Bernard of Tours 62, 50 ff.; Giraldus Camb. 343. But Cosmas 123 ff. contests the theory.

Aristotle's doctrines of qualities and the substrate,<sup>1</sup> and of the fifth element,<sup>2</sup> and his division of the soul into its various faculties;<sup>3</sup> and the *Historia animalium* is a source of some of the stories about animals found in the *Physiologus*, the compilation used by Basil and his followers. Augustine (*Lit.* V, 21, 42) mentions with disapproval the doctrine that the upper regions are under divine guidance, while the lower are subject to disordered, fortuitous motion, doubtless with reference to Aristotle. The criticism was made both by pagans and by Christians that according to Aristotle God did not concern himself with the government of the lower world,<sup>4</sup> and Aristotle may therefore be criticized in the polemics of the Christians against the notion that the world is uncreated and eternal, or self-developed,<sup>5</sup> a doctrine which would naturally be attributed also to the Epicureans.

Although the Stoics were materialists, their influence upon the Hexaemeral writers, direct or indirect, was considerable. They divided the world into the passive principle, formless matter, and the active principle, the logos in it, God.<sup>6</sup> The latter to be sure is not an intelligible being, but is spoken of as "technical fire"; it receives, however, the attribute of providence and plays the part of reason (logos) in the world.<sup>7</sup> In the Hexaemera likewise contrasts are made in the Stoic fashion between the active and the passive.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Zeller II, 2, 315 ff.; references to the Aristotelian and neo-Platonic principle that the two are separable only in thought are frequently found. Origen *De prin.* IV, 1, 33; Basil 21A.

<sup>2</sup> Basil 25B; Ambrose 134C; Anastasius Sin. 858A; Bernard of Tours 38, 80 ff.; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. nat.* III, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle *De anim.* 414 a29 ff. enumerates five (vegetative, sensory, logical, appetitive, motor) of which the first three are mentioned by our authors; Greg. Nyss. *De hom. op.* 144D ff.; Procopius 117C.

<sup>4</sup> Aristotle held that the ether, of which the upper regions are composed, is involved in a circular motion, but that the very nature of the elements necessitates other and less regular movement in the lower regions; cf. *De caelo* 292 b22 ff.; Zeller II, 2, 437-39, 468. For the criticism of Aristotle by pagans and Christians, see Zeller *ibid.* 468, n. 1, also Plut. *De defectu orac.* 423D.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Philo 2, 12 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Diog. Laer. VII, 134.

<sup>7</sup> Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos*, 83-84.

<sup>8</sup> Fire and air are said to be active, earth and water passive; Augustine *Lit.* III, 10; Lactant. *Inst.* II, 9, 21; cf. Plut. *De com. not.* 49, 1, p. 1085; Nemes. *De nat. hom.* 5, 164 Matth.; Cic. *Acad.* i, 26. Philo 2, 16 ff., and Basil 33B use Stoic language in the contrast of the activity of God with the passivity of matter.

The most important influence of the Stoics, however, came in their doctrine of the *logos* in its various forms. When Philo, adopting the Platonic theory of an ideal pattern of the universe, stated that this pattern existed in the divine reason, he employed the Stoic term *logos*, which they had used to signify the reason of man (a part, as they held, of the universal *logos* mentioned above) both when it remains in man's breast (*ἐνδιάθετος*) and when it is expressed in speech (*προφορικός*).<sup>1</sup> Philo calls the ideal pattern of the world God's *logos*, on the analogy of human reason,<sup>2</sup> and Theophilus of Antioch says that the Son, the *Logos* of God, was *ἐνδιάθετος* before the creation, but *προφορικός* when he goes forth to be the agent of creation.<sup>3</sup> Theophilus does not speak of two *logoi*, but of the divine Word in two phases, first, abiding in God in eternity and so containing the ideas of all that God is to create, and second, sent forth by God as his means of communication and the instrument of creation (*Ad Autol.* II, 10, 80). He does not specifically state that the Word in its first state contains the world of ideas, but since he calls it God's "counsellor, mind, and intelligence" and says that God made heaven and earth through his word (*op. cit.* 80) we must assume that this was his meaning and that he agrees herein with Philo, whom indeed he probably follows.

Origen lays even more stress than Theophilus upon the phase of the Word called by the latter *ἐνδιάθετος*. The Word or Wisdom contains all the forms (*species*) of things to be created, whether substantial or accidental, and was itself created prior to these (*De princ.* I, 2, 131B). God's Wisdom never existed apart from him (*ibid.* IV, 1, 28). After Origen, the use of the terms Son,

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the terms see Heinze *op. cit.* 140 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Zeller (III, 2, 423-24) is probably right (against Heinze, *op. cit.* 231 ff.) in saying that Philo did not formally distinguish a divine *ἐνδιάθετος* and *προφορικός* *logos*. Philo uses the two terms with reference to the human mind.

<sup>3</sup> Theophilus II, 10, 78: Ἐχων οὖν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον ἐνδιάθετον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίαις σπλαγχνοῖς ἐγέννησεν αὐτόν, κτλ. *Ibid.* 22, 118: Πρὸ γὰρ τι γίνεσθαι τοῦτον εἶχεν σύμβουλον, ἑαυτοῦ νοῦν καὶ φρόνησιν ὄντα. ὁπότε δὲ ἠθέλησεν ὁ θεὸς ποιῆσαι ὅσα ἐβουλεύσατο, τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἐγέννησεν προφορικόν, . . . οὐ κενωθεὶς αὐτὸς τοῦ λόγου, ἀλλὰ λόγον γεννήσας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς ὁμιλῶν. Cf. Athenagoras *Suppl.* 10 and 24; Tatian *Orat.* 5.

Word, and Wisdom, equivalent to logos, persisted throughout the course of the tradition.<sup>1</sup>

Likewise the Stoic doctrine of σπερματικὸς λόγος, once it had been enunciated, found a place in some of the more important Hexaemera. This logos, as its name implies, was according to the Stoics a force in matter which brought about its development along certain determined lines in the same way that seeds develop. Used in the singular number, the term is applied to God, who remains in this form in the world, first bringing forth the four elements;<sup>2</sup> used in the plural number, it refers to certain powers that take over matter and give it form, and then remain in the world to perpetuate the species thus originated.<sup>3</sup> In the *De opificio mundi* of Philo there is a trace of this Stoic doctrine in the statement (13, 21 ff.) that the reproduction of plants is due to logoi which lie concealed in their germinal elements; the term σπερματικὸς λόγος, too, is found in Philo.<sup>4</sup> After Philo the neo-Platonists adopted the idea. With Aristotle they held that matter and form are never separable,<sup>5</sup> and they sometimes applied the term logos to the forms of matter, each a real concept, and distinguished, as in the Stoic and Philonic systems, by always being connected with the notion of energy.<sup>6</sup> Among the Christians, Augustine took the idea of seminal logoi and used it in connection with his peculiar explanation of the Hexaemeron. When God made all things together, therein were contained whatever things are in the universe—sun, moon, stars, earth, and water—and whatever was later developed out of them, in the same manner that the tree is contained in the seed (*Lit.* V, 23, 45). To this Augustine

<sup>1</sup> For Gregory of Nazianzus see R. Gottwald, *op. cit.* 28.

<sup>2</sup> Diog. Laer. VII, 136; Heinze, 111.

<sup>3</sup> Heinze 114 and n. 2. The logoi are spoken of both absolutely and as being contained in God; *Plac.* I, 7, 33.

<sup>4</sup> See Heinze 239 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Plot. *Enn.* IV, 3, 9: δει δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τὴν εἴσοδον καὶ τὴν ἐμψύχωσιν διδασκαλίας καὶ τοῦ σαφοῦς χάριν γίνεσθαι νομίζειν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἐψυχῶτο τόδε τὸ πᾶν· οὐδ' ἐνῆν ὅτε σῶμα ὑφειστήκει ψυχῆς ἀπούσης, οὐδὲ ὕλη ποτὲ ὅτε ἀκόσμητος ἦν· ἀλλὰ ἐπινοῆσαι ταῦτα χωρίζοντας αὐτὰ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οἶόν τε.

<sup>6</sup> Heinze 318; Zeller III, 2, 609 and n. 7. Here again the first forms produced are said to be the elements.

joins the statement that formless matter precedes form not in time but only in origin. He denotes the subjects of the first creation variously by the terms *aeternae rationes* (*Lit.* IV, 24, 41), *causales rationes* (*ibid.* VI, 14, 15; VII, 22, 23; cf. *causaliter conditus* VI, 9; *ratio creandi hominis* VI, 9), *causae* (VI, 11, 15, 18), *primordiales causae* (VI, 10), *rationes primordiales* (VI, 11), *elementa* (VI, 10), *primae causae* (VI, 15). The use of the term *ratio*, which often means "idea," shows probably that the general notion came to Augustine from the neo-Platonists, but he constantly returns to the comparison with the seed, which is more akin to Stoicism. In his belief that in this manner the first creation contained all things both in substance and in the forms of their various species Augustine differed radically from many of the commentators of the Middle Ages, who held that the substance of all things was created at once but that they were distinguished into their various species in the course of the six days.

Traces of this *logos* doctrine are likewise to be found in the Greek Fathers. In Basil, it occurs in the notion that the commands of God create the nature of things<sup>1</sup> and that these divine commands remain in nature, and, for example, cause the earth to continue to bear fruits.<sup>2</sup> Gregory of Nyssa states even more explicitly the notion that God's commands create the nature of things and determine their natural modes of action which made up the so-called necessary causal sequences in this world (cf. *Hex.* 72C, 76B). This nature of things, made by God and distinguished by the terms *σοφός* and *τεχνικός*, he calls *logos*.<sup>3</sup> Gregory goes much farther in this matter than Basil; he has reference not simply to the seminal power implanted in the earth, sea, and animals, but to the beginnings, causes, and powers (*ἀφορμαί, αἰτίαι, δυνάμεις*, *Hex.* 72B) which God lodged in the world in the beginning and from which

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hex.* 81C (where it is stated that water received its property of flowing downhill from the command of God in 1:9): θεοῦ φωνῇ φύσεώς ἐστι ποιητική.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 96A; the first command became a "law" of nature. Cf. 149C and 164C (the language in the latter passage is Stoic: ἦλθε τὸ πρόσταγμα ὁδῶ βαδίζον; cf. *Diog. Laer.* VII, 156); also 189C.

<sup>3</sup> *Hex.* 73A ff.: ἀλλὰ χρὴ ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων καὶ λόγον τινὰ σοφὸν τε καὶ τεχνικὸν ἐγκείμενον πιστεύειν . . . τί οὖν εἶπεν ὁ θεός; ἐπειδὴ λόγου παραστατική ἐστίν ἡ τοιαύτη φωνή, θεοπροπῶς οἶμαι νοήσομεν εἰς τὸν ἐγκείμενον τῆς κτίσεως λόγον τὸ ῥητὸν ἀναφέροντες.

were developed heaven, earth, ether, air, stars, fire, sea, animals, and plants. Thus Gregory in an important item agreed with and anticipated Augustine, namely, in asserting that potentially all things existed in the first creation, although they were not actually existent (77D).<sup>1</sup> The development of the world from these causes is not automatic, but is the working of the logos of each thing given it by God (72C); and Moses shows that the apparently natural sequences are in fact due to God's wisdom and direction by representing them as following God's commands (73A, 76B). The causes or logoi in Gregory's thought therefore are forms which determine both the constitution of things and the action and reproduction of individuals. He seems to have blended in this doctrine the Platonic ideas, the Aristotelian forms, and the Stoic seminal logoi.

The Stoics sometimes spoke of God as a spirit (*πνεῦμα*) pervading the whole material universe (*Plac.* I, 7, 33), an idea which seems to have been suggestive to the earlier Hexaemeral writers in commenting upon Gen. 1:2 and 2:7, even though the Stoic "spirit" was a material thing. We find mention of this Stoic doctrine.<sup>2</sup> Theophilus apparently conceives of the spirit of God in Gen. 1:2 as a wind or breath, but ascribes to it a life-giving power which nourishes the waters and through them the world;<sup>3</sup> if God should withhold it the world would perish. God's spirit encompasses about the whole world (I, 5, 16). There is perhaps a suggestion of Stoicism here,<sup>4</sup> together with the Old Testament conception of the wind as a mysterious and powerful agent of God.<sup>5</sup> In the later writers, however, the "spirit of God" in Genesis is generally identified with the third member of the Trinity.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. F. Osborn, *From the Greeks to Darwin*, New York, 1908, 71. Gregory apparently was acquainted with Stoic teaching; cf. *De hom. op.* 157A, where he alludes to the theory that the heart is the seat of intelligence.

<sup>2</sup> Theophilus II, 4, 54; Athenagoras *Suppl.* 6, 32; 22, 108.

<sup>3</sup> II, 13, 94; 7, 22. Philo's conception, *De op. m.* 9, 10, is similar.

<sup>4</sup> Even clearer in Tatian *Or. con. Gr.*, who distinguishes between two varieties of spirit; the greater being the likeness of God, originally infused in man but lost through sin, the inferior being a creation of God that permeates matter; *op. cit.* 7, 12, 13, 20; cf. Athenagoras *Suppl.* 24; Aimé Puech, *Recherches sur le discours aux Grecs de Tatien*, Paris, 1903, 65.

<sup>5</sup> W. R. Shoemaker in *Jour. Bib. Lit.* XXIII, 13 ff.

Other less important reminiscences of Stoicism are sometimes found in the Hexaemera. For example, Basil uses the Stoic argument that the world is perishable because its parts are destructible.<sup>1</sup> Mention is also made, but always in a hostile spirit, of the periodical destruction of the world and the ultimate return of all things to exactly the same form and order.<sup>2</sup>

It was of course inevitable that the educated Christians of the fourth century and later should come in contact with neo-Platonism, and it is not strange to find that they considered certain features of that philosophy worthy of adoption. In the Hexaemera there is evidence that the neo-Platonists inspired the tendency of the Latin theologians after Augustine to declare that God is outside of time and space, or even beyond attributes of any kind. The first clear reference to them is found in Basil's objection to the theory which regards God as the involuntary cause of the universe, as a body is of its shadow or an illuminating body of its brilliance.<sup>3</sup> Augustine however is the first of the commentators who was clearly influenced by neo-Platonism in an important way, and through him certain traces of neo-Platonism came into the Latin Hexaemera generally. The *De divisione naturae* of Johannes Scotus Erigena, which was affected by the pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita as well as by Augustine, and the *De mundi universalitate* of Bernard of Tours, in which the world soul, as was remarked above, is derived from the Noys by the neo-Platonic device of emanation, are the most important of the works after Augustine which show the influence of the neo-Platonists.

Augustine's acquaintance with neo-Platonism is an admitted fact and has been the subject of investigation.<sup>4</sup> He himself declares in a much-quoted passage (*Conf.* VII. 9) that through the writings of the *Platonici*—quite certainly meaning the neo-

<sup>1</sup> *Hex.* 9C; cf. Diog. Laer. VII, 141. This also occurs in Lucretius v, 235-46.

<sup>2</sup> Basil 73C; Bernard of Tours 32, 105; Augustine *DCD*, XII, 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Hex.* 17BC. Plotinus often spoke of the relations between the One and the rest of the universe in the manner which Basil reports; cf. Zeller III, 2, 552 and n. 2, 557 and n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> G. Loesche, *De Augustino Plotinizante*, Jena, 1880; L. Grandgeorge, *Saint Augustin et le néo-Platonisme*, Paris, 1896; Nourisson, *La philosophie de St. Augustin*, 1866, II, 102, 111; N. Bouillet, *Les ennées de Plotin*, II, 555.

Platonists—he first came to understand the prooemium of John's gospel.<sup>1</sup> In his exegesis of the Biblical passages dealing with creation this knowledge of neo-Platonism shows itself especially in two ways, in his conception of God, and in his allegorical explanation of the days of creation as something different from natural days. The first point has been noted by the critics.<sup>2</sup> God—Father, Son, and Spirit—exists without beginning or end, outside of time and space<sup>3</sup> in an eternity in which there is no temporal or spatial movement, but all parts of it are ever present.<sup>4</sup> Without going to the extreme of the neo-Platonists and declaring that God is wholly without attributes, Augustine shows by his language that he borrowed suggestions from them. This may be seen from *Lit.* IV, 18, 34: *et ideo, dum ipse manet in se, quidquid ex illo est retorquet ad se, ut omnis creatura in se habeat naturae suae terminum, quo non sit quod ipse est, in illo autem quietis locum quo seruet quod ipsa est.* Herein he employs two neo-Platonic ideas, the *μόνη* or transcendent rest of God (*manet in se*) and the *ἐπιστροφή* of all things to the One (*retorquet ad se*).<sup>5</sup> Both are further employed in his exegesis of Genesis—the former to describe the seventh day's rest (*Lit.* IV, 18–19), which Augustine says for God had no beginning or end, and the latter in his discussion of the six days, as will presently appear.

In accordance with this definition of God's nature, Augustine denies that the working of God reported in the Scriptures is either temporal or spatial; all his thought and action are in the Word, including the commands and acts of creation.<sup>6</sup> This view, which

<sup>1</sup> The translations of Victorinus were the medium of his knowledge of the neo-Platonists (*Conf.* VIII, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Grandgeorge, chap. II; Loesche 31 ff. Storz, *Die Philosophie des hl. Augustinus*, Freiburg, 1882, 182, wrongly judges that the tendency to define Deity by negation comes from the polemic against Manichaeism.

<sup>3</sup> *Lit.* VIII, 19: *dicimus itaque . . . deum . . . nec locorum uel finito uel infinito spatio contineri nec temporum uel finito uel infinito uolumine uariari.* Storz 183–84.

<sup>4</sup> *Conf.* XI, 13, 16: *sed praecedis omnia praeterita celsitudine semper praesentis aeternitatis.*

<sup>5</sup> The similarity of terminology may be seen by comparing Plotinus *Enn.* I, 7, 1: *δεῖ οὖν μένειν αὐτό* (sc. τὸ ἀγαθόν), *πρὸς αὐτὸ δὲ ἐπιστρέφειν πάντα, ὥσπερ κύκλον πρὸς κέντρον, ἀφ' οὗ πᾶσαι γραμμαὶ* (v.l. αὐτὸ Dübner, which is a closer parallel).

<sup>6</sup> *Lib. imp.* 5, 19; *Lit.* I, 2, 6; I, 5; *Conf.* XI, 7, 9.

logically follows from the character of his conception of Deity, is stated in *Lit.* I, 18, 36: *sed ante omnia meminimus . . . non temporalibus quasi animi sui aut corporis motibus operari deum, sicut operatur homo uel angelus, sed aeternis atque incommutabilibus et stabilibus rationibus coaeterni sibi uerbi sui et quodam, ut ita dixerim, fotu pariter coaeterni sancti spiritus sui.* The followers of Augustine in the middle ages often cited this passage with approval,<sup>1</sup> and they accepted his doctrine that the commands and acts of Genesis are in the Word.<sup>2</sup> It is in these ways that the influence of Augustine's neo-Platonic tendencies was most felt in later times.

To justify his rejection of the ordinary belief that the world was created in six natural days Augustine devised an explanation of the days mentioned in Gen. 1 by an allegorical interpretation of the formulae of command that appear in the Biblical account.<sup>3</sup> The angels are the "heaven" of Gen. 1:1, and by the command "Let there be light" they are brought out of formlessness to an ordered life. The making of the light is their turning to the creator and formation out of formlessness. This state of illumination follows darkness; similarly, "morning" is the praise of God by the angelic light after "evening," that is, the recognition of its own nature. Each successive day up to the perfect number six<sup>4</sup> is a repetition of the first; the first evening is the knowledge which the light has of its own nature; the morning beginning the second day is its conversion to the creator, its praise of him and perception in the Word of the creation that is next to follow, in this case the firmament. This implies that the commands couched in the form *Fiat firmamentum* refer to the making in the Word of the creation

<sup>1</sup> Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 8; Peter Lombard II, 1, 2; Bandinus II, 1; Bruno 156B.

<sup>2</sup> Following *Lit.* II, 6, 14, they declare that the commands reported in Genesis are not actually spoken, but those beginning with *fiat* indicate an operation in and through the Word, and the formulae *et fecit deus* and *factum est ita* refer to a material creation not exceeding the bounds set in the Word. Cf. Beda *Hex.* 19A, *Com.* 195A; Strabus 67B; Hrabanus 450A; Angelomus 116D; Remi 55B; Rupert of Deutz 206D; Peter Lombard II, 13, 7; Bandinus II, 13; Honorius *Elucidarium* 1112C; Albertus Magnus IV, 73, 3; Peter Comestor 1057B (but also 1058D).

<sup>3</sup> The most detailed account is in *Lit.* IV, 22, 39; cf. also I, 3, 7 and II, 8, 16.

<sup>4</sup> On the perfection of this number, see *infra* p. 29. God could have created in one day, had he chosen, but on account of the perfection of six took that number; *Lit.* IV, 2, 2, and 6.

mentioned; the formula *Et sic est factum* refers to the recognition of this creation gained by the angels from the Word; and finally *Et fecit Deus* regularly means that the "light" perceives the creation *in ipsa natura*. Thereupon evening, the angels' knowledge of the creation last made, comes again, to be succeeded as before by morning, their conversion to the creator, praise of him, and information through the Word of the creation next to come.

Without doubt, the theory outlined above from *Lit.* IV, 22, 39, which is unique in the history of the Hexaemera, is suggested by the neo-Platonic systems of emanation, although to Augustine creation is not an emanation, but a real creation out of nothing. The similarities may be seen from a comparison of Plotinus, *Enn.* V, 2, 1, with the above. Plotinus says: ὃν γὰρ τέλειον τῷ μηδὲν ζητεῖν μηδὲ ἔχειν μηδὲ δεῖσθαι, οἷον ὑπερερρῦη καὶ τὸ ὑπερπλήρες αὐτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἄλλο. τὸ δὲ γενόμενον εἰς αὐτὸ ἐπεστράφη καὶ ἐπληρώθη, καὶ ἐγένετο πρὸς αὐτὸ βλέπον, καὶ νοῦς οὗτος. καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἐκείνο στάσις αὐτοῦ τὸ ὃν ἐποίησεν, ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸ θεά τὸν νοῦν. In this account of the emanation of the Nous there are two moments, ἐπιστροφή and στάσις, and second, θεά; the first gives it existence and the second makes it νοῦς. In Augustine<sup>1</sup> we can parallel the ἐπιστροφή with *conuersio* (in the forms *conuertere* and *retorquere*): στάσις is not especially mentioned, but θεά is balanced by *contemplatio*, and as it produces νοῦς, so *contemplatio* produces *formatio*, which in the Augustinian context is a fair equivalent of νοῦς.

This unique theory of the meaning of the six days was adopted by some of the later Latin writers, but usually only in part. It was too speculative and difficult to appeal to the majority, who preferred to believe that the six days were really periods of time. Erigena, after Augustine, was most affected by neo-Platonism, which caused him to declare that God is beyond all attributes and even beyond the category of being.

The Epicureans were the object of the polemic against the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. in *Lit.* IV, 22, 39: . . . sicut post tenebras facta est (sc. lux) ubi intellegitur a sua quadam informitate ad creatorem conuersa atque formata; ita et post uesperam fiat mane, cum post cognitionem suae propriae naturae, qua non est quod deus, refert se ad laudandam lucem, quod ipse deus est, cuius contemplatione formatur. *Ibid.* I, 2, 17: quae [sc. lux] nisi ad creatorem illuminanda conuerteretur, fluitaret informiter. Also I, 4, 9; 5, 10; III, 20, 31. I am not aware that this parallelism has previously been pointed out.

notion that the world was automatically made (cf. Lucretius v, 187-94) and would naturally share the objections made against the theory that matter is eternal.<sup>1</sup>

Neo-Pythagoreanism affected the Hexaemeral writers only in the transmission of the idea that certain virtues dwell in the several numbers—for example, that six is perfect, and for this reason the creative work was performed in six days, or that two is evil, because it transcends unity, and that, therefore, God failed to call the creations of the second day good.<sup>2</sup> This sort of symbolical interpretation of numbers was much employed by Philo, and through him passed into the Hexaemera. In the Middle Ages there was a revival of the use of topics of this kind.

Manichaeism gave rise to the polemic of Augustine and to certain topics of the Hexaemera, for example, the denial that the darkness spoken of in Gen. 1:2 is an entity and the principle of evil.<sup>3</sup>

It has thus become evident that the commentators upon the creation narrative were deeply and essentially indebted to the Greek philosophers. To the old Hebrew account they added the great Platonic doctrine of an ideal plan underlying the foundation of the material world. Philo and the neo-Platonists confirmed their conviction that this plan was in the divine mind, and from the teachings of the Stoics they derived assistance in their explanation of the way in which God, according to the Mosaic account, worked upon chaotic matter to produce this world in all the perfection of its parts. Had Greek philosophy been non-existent it is certain that the commentaries on Genesis would have borne an entirely different character.

<sup>1</sup> Epicurus is expressly mentioned by Helinandus (*Chron.* I, *ap.* Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. nat.* I, 18). The probability that Aristotle was also an object of the polemics mentioned has been set forth above.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Lombard II, 14, 4; Bandinus II, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Philoponus accused Theodorus of Mopsuestia of saying that it was an entity (84 ff.). The usual explanation was that the darkness was simply absence of light; Basil 40C; Diodorus of Tarsus 1563B; Ambrose 138C; Philoponus 69 ff.; Theodoretus *ap.* Philop. 85, 17; Anastasius Sin. 859A; Augustine *Man.* I, 4, *Lib. imp.* 4, *Conf.* XII, 3; Greg. Nys. *Hex.* 81D; Severianus I, 5; pseudo-Eucherius 895A; Beda *Com.* 194B; Hugo of St. Victor 36A; Honorius *Hex.* 255B; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* 1: 7; Angelomus 115C; Peter Lombard II, 12, 3; Hugo of Amiens 1254C; Gennadius *ap.* MPG LXXXV, 1628A; Eucherius *Instructiones* 70, 9; Bruno 148B; Peter Comestor 1056C. Basil 37C (cf. Ambrose 139D) says that God could not create such an evil principle because things cannot arise from their opposites (for which cf. Dionysius Areop., MPG III, 716B).

## CHAPTER II

### PHILO JUDAEUS AND JEWISH HEXAEMERAL WRITINGS

Although it is not the purpose of this study to investigate the Hebrew commentaries on the Genesis story, there are certain Hebrew writings dealing with the creation which from their connection with the Christian Hexaemeral tradition must receive notice. Most important of these authors is Philo Judaeus, who is in fact more Greek than Hebrew; the others are the authors of some of the non-canonical scriptures,<sup>1</sup> the historian Josephus, and the Hebrews mentioned by Chalcidius.

In the formulation of their doctrine of the Word, the Christian theologians were influenced by the so-called Wisdom literature of the Hebrews, as well as by Plato, the neo-Platonists, the Stoics, and Philo. No exhaustive study of the Wisdom literature need be undertaken at this point; a few of its leading features, however, may be pointed out. In the Wisdom of Solomon and the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, Wisdom is sometimes spoken of as a creative and guiding power pervading the universe;<sup>2</sup> but this characterization is not always kept up, and Wisdom is sometimes said to have been a spectator when God created the world.<sup>3</sup> Here the pervasion of the world by Wisdom is analogous to the penetrative power of the Stoic logos, and in fact the whole series of these writings is probably thoroughly under the Greek influence.<sup>4</sup> The passage in Prov. 8:22 ff., which in the Authorized Version reads, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old; I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning,

<sup>1</sup> Little Genesis, or the Book of Jubilees; the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, or Slavonic Enoch; the Book of Enoch, or Ethiopic Enoch; the Book of Adam and Eve (which is included here although it is not of Hebrew origin).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wisd. of Sol. 7:24 ff.: διήκει δὲ καὶ χωρεῖ διὰ πάντων διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα . . . μία δὲ οὐσα πάντα δύναται καὶ μένουσα ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ πάντα καινίζει. Sirac. 24:5: γυρον οὐρανοῦ ἐκύκλωσα μόνη. On the whole subject see Heinze, *Lehre vom Logos*, 193 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Heinze *op. cit.*, 197 and n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Zeller III, 2, 293.

or ever the earth was," is sometimes cited by the Hexaemeral writers.<sup>1</sup>

The non-canonical Hebrew books belong, in a sense, to the Hexaemeral tradition, as commentaries upon the Genesis narrative, because their authors in retelling the creation story attempted to emphasize points not mentioned in Genesis or treated briefly there. The motive prompting such commentary was sometimes the desire to reassert the old Hebrew faith in the face of encroaching Hellenism, and sometimes the desire to interpret the old beliefs in the Hellenic manner, as in the case of the Wisdom literature. As examples of the former may be cited the tendency of Jubilees and other writings to fix very definitely the time of the biblical events, and especially the importation of angels into the narrative, although Genesis does not mention them. Angels are frequently mentioned in other parts of the Old Testament, and according to Job 38:7 in the LXX they are said to have been witnesses of creation. In order to reconcile the apparent inconsistencies, and to answer the question when the angels were created, Jub. 2:2 states that they were made on the first day,<sup>2</sup> and in some of the Byzantine chronicles this passage of Jubilees is cited.<sup>3</sup>

The angelology of Jubilees and the other works of this class is elaborate. The classes of angels in Jubilees are defined as the angels of the presence, the angels of sanctification, the guardian angels of nations and individuals,<sup>4</sup> and the inferior angels that supervise the rain, snow, clouds, hail, and other natural phenomena, and in Slavonic Enoch (chaps. 4-6) angels are said to be in charge of the luminaries as well. This, or Hebrew speculation of which this is a part, may be a source of the peculiar doctrines of Cosmas

<sup>1</sup> Chalcidius 307, 8; Augustine *Conf.* VII, 21, *Lit.* V, 19; Ambrose 128A, 129D.

<sup>2</sup> According to Slav. Enoch 29:1, they were one of the works of the second day, but Charles conjectures in his note *ad loc.* that the MS is at fault. The statement of Jubilees that after their creation the angels praised God is doubtless added to bring the account into agreement with Job; Cosmas has a similar passage wherein he quotes Job. Augustine's doctrine of the "conversion" of the angels has nothing to do with Jubilees.

<sup>3</sup> Theodosius Mel. (*et al.*; see index) 2, 2; Zonaras 13, 3; Cedrenus 9, 13.

<sup>4</sup> The idea is found in the N.T.; cf. Matt. 18:10, Acts 12:15; it is common in the Hexaemera.

and Theodorus of Mopsuestia (*infra*, p. 62). Jubilees also says definitely that the Genesis story was revealed to Moses by an angel of the presence (2:1), in keeping with the statements in the other books of the Old Testament that inspiration from God came through the angels;<sup>1</sup> but the statements in the Hexaemera (cf. Anastasius, 861D, 876C) that Moses talked with an angel or was inspired by God do not come from this source.

Without describing the confused and complicated cosmology of this class of writings, a few of the more important ideas derived from them may briefly be enumerated: 1. It is characteristic of Jubilees to omit the formulas of command used in Genesis and merely to state the number of works done on each of the creative days. At the end of the narrative, the sum of all the works is given as twenty-two, the number of the patriarchs from Adam to Jacob.<sup>2</sup>

2. Jubilees enumerates Paradise among the works of the third day.<sup>3</sup>

3. They contain detailed accounts of the fall of Lucifer and his followers, of the same type as those often found in the Hexaemera. Slav. Enoch 7:3 says "these angels apostatized from the Lord" and "took counsel of their own will," and in 29:4 that Satan wished to make his throne higher and to be equal with God.

4. In Slav. Enoch 30:8 there is a comparison of man with the world; Adam's flesh is made from the earth, blood from the dew, eyes from the sun, bones from the stones, thoughts from the swiftness of the angels and of the clouds, veins and hair from the grass, and spirit from God's spirit and the wind. This is to be compared to the microcosmos topic; and Philo's comparison (*Leg. All.*,

<sup>1</sup> See R. H. Charles on Jub. 1:27.

<sup>2</sup> Jub. 2:15; reminiscences in Epiphan. *De mens. et pond.*, XXII; Syncellus 5, 14-17; Cedrenus 9, 6-13; Anastasius 940; Isidorus *Etym.* XVI, 26, 10 (from Epiphanius). From the form of these references Charles infers that the original text of Jubilees also compared the number of the works to the number of the books in the O.T. In this connection cf. Eucherius *Formulae* (p. 60, ed. Wotke): *xxii. ad sacramentum divinarum uoluntatum secundum litteras Hebraeorum.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Slav. Enoch 30:1; Book of Adam and Eve 1:1; Syncellus 5, 7; Cedrenus 8, 5-7.

95, 13 C-W) of man's bones to the stones and his nails and hair to the plants is perhaps a reminiscence.<sup>1</sup>

5. Slav. Enoch 30:13 reads, "And I gave him a name from the four substances, the East, the West, the North, and the South." This, which is a proof that Slavonic Enoch was originally written in Greek (cf. Charles's note), refers to the acrostic 'Ανατολή, Δύσις, Ἄρκτος, Μεσημβρία, and is several times mentioned in the Hexaemera.<sup>2</sup>

6. In Jub. 4:30, when Adam dies, lacking seventy of a thousand years of age, it is stated that he has fulfilled the prophecy, "On the day that ye eat thereof ye will die" (Gen. 2:17), for one thousand years is one day "in the testimony of the heavens." This is an instance of the notion that the world would exist for six thousand years after its creation until the judgment day, followed by a millennium of rest. Examples of similar ideas are seen in Slav. Enoch 30:1, "Let the eighth be the first after my work, and let the days be after the fashion of seven thousand" (see Charles's note), and in the Book of Adam and Eve 1:3. Adam is informed after his fall that the redeemer of him and his seed will come in five and one-half days, that is, five thousand, five hundred years. The idea of the world week is common in Christian writings<sup>3</sup> and the allied and derived idea of the seven ages of the world is a topic of the later Hexaemera (*infra* p. 72).

The treatise *De opificio mundi* of Philo Judaeus is the first extant work in Greek dealing with the interpretation of the creation story in Genesis. Like the other Jewish theologians of Alexandria, of whom we know but little, Philo was an eclectic in his philosophy. He drew mainly upon Plato, Platonizing neo-Pythagoreans, and the Stoics, but throughout he held steadfast belief in the authority of the Hebrew Scriptures.<sup>4</sup> His philosophical system is a combina-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Slav. Enoch 30:9 and Philo *De op. mund.*, 41, 14-16, in each of which seven natures of man are enumerated. Raleigh I, 2, 5 has an elaborate comparison of this type.

<sup>2</sup> Beda *Com.* 216C; *Orac. Sib.* III, 24-25; II, 195; VIII, 321; XI, 3; Glyca 160AB; Severianus V, 3; Honorius *De imag. mund.* I, 86; *Elucid.* 1117A.

<sup>3</sup> Iren. *Contr. haer.* V, 28, 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV, 25; Cedrenus 9; Honorius *Hex.* 259 BC; Origen according to Methodius *ap. Phot. cod.* 235; Suidas, s.v. *Τυπηνία*. Ps. 90:4 was a source of the same ideas.

<sup>4</sup> Zeller III, 2, 385 ff.

tion of the Scriptures and Greek philosophy through the medium of allegorical interpretation. In the *De opificio mundi* he shows his thorough familiarity with Plato by his citations of the dialogues, especially the *Timaeus*; from the neo-Pythagoreans he derives his tendency to use numbers in a mystical and symbolical manner. The utter materialism of the Stoics was, of course, foreign to Philo, but their influence is seen in his doctrine of the Powers of God, which are apparently a fusion of the Stoic seminal logoi, the Platonic ideas, and the Jewish angels.<sup>1</sup> As the discussion will show, his influence upon the Christian Hexaemera was great.

After the prooemium of the *De opificio mundi*, Philo argues for the existence of an active principle, God, over against the passive principle, matter.<sup>2</sup> Here he censures those who "admire the cosmos more than its maker" (2, 12) and assert that it was automatically made—such thinkers, that is, as the Epicureans and perhaps Aristotle (*supra*, p. 14). The active principle is the purest Mind, transcending virtue, wisdom, goodness, and beauty;<sup>3</sup> the passive is unmoved by itself but is ordered by God into the cosmos. His arguments are that there is forethought in the administration of the universe (3, 5), and that God could have no care for that which he had not himself made.<sup>4</sup> The world without a governing God is like a state where anarchy reigns (3, 11). For this reason Moses distinguished between the visible, sensible world, subject to generation and decay, and the uncreated, unseen, eternal, and intelligible God.<sup>5</sup>

Philo then turns to discuss the meaning of the six days of creation (4, 1 ff.), and states that God had no need of time, since he could have made everything at once, but created the world in

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* 408-9.

<sup>2</sup> 2, 16 ff. The contrast is fundamental with the Stoics; *supra*, p. 14. The Stoic active principle, however, was material.

<sup>3</sup> 2, 20; cf. Plato *Rep.* 509B.

<sup>4</sup> 3, 6; cf. Raleigh's Preface, xl, "For what father forsaketh the child which he hath begotten?" The thought that God is good and cares for the world underlies the whole *Timaeus*; cf. 29E, 30A.

<sup>5</sup> 3, 13, using the terminology of *Tim.* 27D, 28A etc.

six days because there was need of order in created things.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere (*Leg. All.* 61, 11 ff.) he says that the world was not created in time at all, but in the number six, because time, made up of the passage of days and nights and therefore dependent upon the movement of the sun, could not have existed before the creation of the universe (*supra*, p. 7). The world was made in the number six because of the perfection of that number. By the laws of nature it is best fitted to generate (*De op. mund.* 4, 4 ff.) because it is the sum of its factors—one; the dyad, the first even or female number; and the triad, the first odd or male number. Since the universe was to embrace all the forms of existence coming from this number, it had to be molded after the number itself. This symbolical manipulation of the number six is an example of the neo-Pythagoreanism in Philo<sup>2</sup> and is the source of a long line of similar passages in the Hexaemera.<sup>3</sup>

Philo explains the creation of the first day as that of the intelligible world, the *νοητὸς κόσμος*.<sup>4</sup> Like Plato, he assumes that God had some pattern in creating the world,<sup>5</sup> for every sensible thing has an ideal pattern and a fair thing has a fair pattern (5, 1 ff.). Unlike Plato, he says definitely that God made the intelligible world. Another difference between Plato and Philo is that the

<sup>1</sup> Ambrose (*Ep.* 44, 2, cited by Cohn-Wendland, *Phil. Alex. Op.* I, lxxxx) used this passage. The question why God took six days became a topic in the Hexaemera, probably suggested by the discussion of Philo.

<sup>2</sup> Zeller III, 2, 439, and n. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Philoponus 304, 18 ff., much like Philo, has the two ideas that the number six is perfect and that the world was to be perfect and was therefore to be created in the perfect number. The perfection of six was a commonplace in the Latin mediaeval writings. Cf. Greg. Nyss. *Hom. in uerb. Fac. Hom.* 285C; Procopius 140B; Augustine *Lit.* IV, 2, 6; Isidorus *Lib. numerorum* 184C; pseudo-Eucherius 902A; Beda *Hes. 33C, Com.* 202C; Hrabanus 463D; Angelomus 125A; Hildebert 1216D; Neckam II, 173; Erigena III, 11; IV, 9; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 18; Peter Comestor 1064D. Honorius (*Hes.* 263A) says that Plato had the perfection of the number six in mind in the opening phrases of the *Timaeus*; and William of Conches in the commentary on the *Timaeus* ascribed to him makes the same statement.

<sup>4</sup> 4, 15-21; 44, 19. The term does not occur in Plato. Cf. Shorey, *A. J. P.*, X, 50

<sup>5</sup> This assumption (cf. *Tim.* 28A) is like that which Plato makes in explaining the theory of ideas in *Rep.* 596AB; cf. also *Crat.* 389C. The human artisan looks to a model in his creation; on the same analogy so does the Demiurge.

former's pattern is the idea of living thing, while the ideas of all things, both animate and inanimate, are included in the intelligible world of Philo.<sup>1</sup> Philo's language in describing the intelligible world is full of reminiscences of the *Timaean*.<sup>2</sup> He illustrates his meaning by a simile taken from the building of a city (5, 17 ff.) in which God corresponds to the architect and his reason or logos is the intelligible world (6, 7 ff.). The identity of the two is explicitly stated again in 7, 17 ff.<sup>3</sup>

Philo (6, 13) accepts the reason given by Plato (*Tim.* 29E) why God created the world—namely, because of his goodness and his desire that all creation should share therein. He sets a precedent here that is followed by many Hexaemeral writers. God's work, then, is bringing order out of chaotic matter,<sup>4</sup> which according to Philo is coexistent with God and not created by him; but he cannot benefit the world to the full extent of his power, for matter by its very nature cannot receive all that God would confer upon it.<sup>5</sup> God's power is thus metaphysically limited. The underlying thought is present in those passages of Plato where matter is represented as resisting the efforts of the Demiurge.

The "beginning" (Gen. 1:1) is interpreted as being not according to time but number, i.e., "first" (8, 5 ff.), for time was not existent before the creation of the world. The first five verses of Genesis are taken to refer to the ideal world. The first creation

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. 9, 4 and Shorey *Unity of Plato's Thought* 37, n. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *De op. mund.* 4, 21 ff., with *Tim.* 28A, 29A, 30D, 34C.

<sup>3</sup> Philo's logos is identified with the highest idea (Heinze *op. cit.* 223) and, unlike Plato, Philo held that the ideas are the product of God's thought (Heinze 221). He did not, however, identify the logos with God; cf. *Quis. rer. diu. her.* 42, p. 501 Mangey, where it is stated that the logos is neither ungenerated like God nor generated like ourselves. See also the citations in Ritter and Preller, *Hist. Phil. Gr.* 610a. This is due to the tendency of mystical thought to set up a series of mediations. See Zeller III, 2, 419 and nn. 1-2, 420 and n. 5, 421 and nn. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 6, 18 ff. with *Tim.* 30A3 ff., 69B. In saying (3, 16 ff.) that there must be an active and a passive principle, Philo leaves open the supposition that the former does not create the latter. He never states that matter is generated, but often that the cosmos is generated, meaning, therefore, that the arrangement of the universe is not a matter of chance. The Christian writers insisted that God created matter out of nothing. On Philo's position cf. Bäumker, *Problem der Materie* 384.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *De op. mund.* 7, 5 ff., with *Tim.* 37D, 48A, 69B, 86D, *Politicus* 269D, *Theaetetus* 176A; *supra*, p. 6.

(9, 4 ff.) consisted of οὐρανὸν ἀσώματον καὶ γῆν ἀόρατον καὶ ἀέρος ἰδέαν καὶ κενοῦ, so that the darkness (Gen. 1:2) and the deep (*ibid.*) are respectively the ideas of air and space. Besides these there are the ideas of water (9, 7 ὕδατος ἀσώματον οὐσίαν) and of wind or breath (πνεῦμα, which is called God's in Gen. 1:2 because it is life-giving) and intelligible light in the form of patterns of the sun and stars. This light is spoken of as the image of the divine logos (9, 15), but Philo did not identify it, as Augustine did, with the angels. The separation of the intelligible light and darkness constitutes the first evening and morning (10, 8 ff.); it is accomplished by means of ὅροι which are themselves ideal—ἰδέαι καὶ μέτρα καὶ τύποι καὶ σφραγίδες εἰς γένεσιν ἄλλων ἀσώματα σωματών (10, 20), that is, types after which were fashioned the variations of day and night in the material world. In this manner Philo disposes of a question which troubled the later commentators—how to interpret the divisions of time before the creation of the luminaries.

After this the material world was made, beginning with the firmament, which was so called because it was somatic, that is, of three dimensions, as opposed to the intelligible (11, 7 ff.). Philo then did not conceive of the heaven as a solid roof, but rather agrees substantially with Augustine and Basil. He might well at this place have said that matter was created out of nothing, had he so believed, but from his language in 11, 5 ff. it is to be inferred that his views were like those of Plato.

At first, the two elements water and earth were mingled in a formless mixture (11, 17 ff.), but at God's command the salt water that was useless for nourishing herbage was brought together and the dry land formed, while the sweet water, pouring forth from underground veins into rivers,<sup>1</sup> was left in the earth and serves to bind it together and prevent its dissolution.

On the third day the herbs and trees were created full-grown (12, 20 ff.). The fourth day witnessed the creation of the luminaries. Philo is the first to say that these were created after the

<sup>1</sup> For this idea in the Hexaemera cf. Basil 92C; Ambrose 165A; pseudo-Eustathius 713B; Glyca 53C; Beda *Hex.* 20C; Honorius *Hex.* 256C and *De. Im. Mund.* I, 5; Hugo of St. Victor 34B; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* I, 12. The notion is a common one; cf. Plato *Phaedo* 111D, Lucretius v, 812 ff.

earth had borne its herbage in order that men might not ascribe this to the power of the sun but to God. This became a topic of the Hexaemera.<sup>1</sup> In connection with this he also explains the perfections of the number four (15, 8 ff.). The stars are animated (25, 3) and incapable of evil.<sup>2</sup> The sun outshines all the other luminaries—a topic mentioned often in the Hexaemera. He briefly condemns astrology, saying that the stars as signs have only to do with the weather, the seasons, and the like (18, 15 ff., 19, 14 ff.)—a topic upon which the Hexaemera give lengthy polemics.

In the commentary on the creations of the fifth day, the number five, like four, six, and seven, is given an allegorical significance (20, 10 ff.). The fish were given homes in various kinds of water according to their species, not by chance but by providence.<sup>3</sup>

Turning to the creation of man in the image of God, Philo, like many Hexaemeral writers after him, states that the image is no external one but is found in the mind (23, 6).<sup>4</sup> Of the two accounts

<sup>1</sup> 14, 5 ff.; cf. Theophilus II, 15, 100; Basil 88C, 120C; Chrysostom VI, 4; Severianus III, 2; Ambrose 166C, 163B, 188B, 189A; Philoponus 160, 6; Glyca 84C.

<sup>2</sup> This is Platonic; *Tim.* 38E, 40B–D. Other Hexaemeral writers deny it: Neckam I, 9; Augustine *Lit.* II, 18, and Abelard 752B are non-committal. Cf. also Philoponus 231, 7 ff.; Du Bartas, 94 in Sylvester's translation. Milton, *P.L.* X, 648 ff., represents them as moved by angels; see also *infra*, p. 62. In treating of the luminaries and light, Philo employs two other Platonic topics. He says that the mind is the eye of the soul, because the one sees intelligible and the other material things; cf. 17, 15 ff., and *Rep.* 508D. Like Plato, too, he says that men come by means of the sense of sight and the contemplation of the heavens to the study of the universe and to philosophy; 17, 14 ff., and *Tim.* 47A ff.

<sup>3</sup> This topic was later used to show that the dumb creatures do not transgress the divine law but keep within their prescribed bounds; cf. Basil 156A, which was copied by others. Cf. 20, 20 ff., and Basil 149A, copied by pseudo-Eustathius 724B. Philo also introduces the Hexaemeral topic that the fish and the birds may well have a common origin in the water because both swim, the fish in the water, the birds in the air (21, 5 ff.). Cf. Basil 169A; Ambrose 225C; Philoponus 212; Augustine *Lit.* III, 6; *Lib. imp.* 15; pseudo-Eustathius 728C; Glyca 96D; Theodosius Melit. 3, 19 ff. The origin of the topic seems to be Plato *Soph.* 220B. Philo follows Plato in ascribing different grades of soul to fish, beasts, and man; cf. 21, 16 and 21 with *Tim.* 92B.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Origen *Hom. in Gen.* 155D; Augustine *Man.* I, 17; *Lib. imp.* 16; *Lit.* III, 20; pseudo-Eucherius 900C, 904C; Eucherius *Instructiones* 68, 24 (Wotke); Beda *Com.* 200D, *Hex.* 29C; Honorius *Hex.* 258C; Angelomus 122A; Remi 57A; Peter

in Genesis, the first describes the making of "an idea, class, or type, intelligible, incorporeal, neither male nor female, naturally immortal," and the making of the body of man is described in Gen. 2:7 (46, 18 ff.). The phrase "Let us make" is used because God calls upon his powers to assist him (24, 21 ff.). God can make only such beings as the stars, which are animated and capable only of good, and the irrational animals, which are *ἀδιάφορα* (the Stoic term); but of man, who is capable of both good and evil, he can make only the good portions, for he cannot be the author of evil (*supra*, p. 5). The reasons why man was made last are, that, since he was highest gifted with mind, the world had to be prepared for him (26, 1 ff.);<sup>1</sup> appearing thus after all was ready, the world all but cried out to him that if he imitated his creator he would live happily without toil (27, 7 ff.); in the scheme of creation, the best of immortal things, heaven, was first made, and the best of mortal things, man, last (28, 18 ff.); and finally, man's sudden appearance would surprise and cow the beasts, over which he exercises dominion, though physically the weaker (29, 4 ff.).

From the allegorical treatment of the number seven the later writers took certain topics.<sup>2</sup>

The first man, because he was made out of new and pure materials (47, 16 ff.) and because God himself made him with direct reference to the archetype, the logos (49, 7), was excellent above all other men; in succeeding generations the likeness to the model fades. God led the animals before Adam to receive their names—not because he himself was in perplexity, but to test his powers as a teacher tests a pupil (52, 8 ff.). Adam then assigned

Lombard II, 16, 4; Bandinus II, 16; Hildebert 1215C; Alcimius Avitus; Philoponus 239, 17 ff.; Drogio *De creat. et redempt. prim. hom.*; Arnold of Chartres 1534A; Greg. Nyss., *Hom. in uerb. Fac. Hom.* 264A; Procopius 120A; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 34; Bruno 158B; Peter Comestor 1063C.

<sup>1</sup> The comparison of the late creation of man to the inviting of a banqueter to a feast already prepared (26, 9 ff.) is found also in Ambrose, *Ep.* 43, 3; Greg. Nyss. *De hom. op.* 133B; DuBartas, 156 in Sylvester's translation.

<sup>2</sup> It is shown that seven is the largest prime number in the decad not a factor of other numbers therein; cf. Isidorus *Lib. numerorum* 186A; Philoponus 306, 7. He also enumerates various groups of sevens, including the seven ages of man (cf. Ambrose *Ep.* 44, 10-11, cited by Cohn-Wendland).

names in accordance with the principles of the νομοθέτης of Plato's *Cratylus*, for he devised τὰς θέσεις μήτ' ἀνοικείους μήτ' ἀναρμόστους ἀλλ' ἐμφαινούσας εὖ μάλα τὰς τῶν ὑποκειμένων ιδιότητας . . . εὖ μάλα στοχαζόμενος τῶν δηλουμένων ὡς ἅμα λεχθῆναι τε καὶ νοηθῆναι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν (52, 13 ff.; cf. *Crat.* 389D).

Evil had its origin in pleasure<sup>1</sup> and did not come to man until after the advent of woman, when he had ceased to be one, like God and the universe (52, 22 ff.). Paradise is interpreted allegorically as the ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς (53, 23 ff.), a Stoic term, and it is possible that some of the early Fathers were influenced by this explanation (*infra*, p. 36).

After the time of Philo, the first chapter of the first book of the *Antiquitates Iudaicae* of Flavius Josephus furnished material to some of the Hexaemeral writers. The account of creation there found is hardly more than a paraphrase of the biblical narrative. The portions used by later writers are that upon the firmament,<sup>2</sup> the statement that the Sabbath was instituted because God rested on the seventh day<sup>3</sup> and the statement that in Hebrew "Adam" means "red."<sup>4</sup>

Chalcidius says (306, 5, 19) that all the Jews agreed that whatever the correct reading of Gen. 1:2 it means that matter was made by God. One artisan furnishes another with the material of his art, but ultimately Nature provides it to the first artisan, and God gives it to Nature; there is nothing prior to God, however, to supply him with matter. It is therefore created from nothing (310, 2 ff.). They held that the "beginning" was not a beginning in time, since time could not exist before the distinction of day and night; but from Proverbs they concluded that the beginning was the divine Wisdom (307, 8 ff.). Wisdom is made by God, but not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Tim.* 69CD, 86C; especially δὲλεασθεῖς (Philo 58, 3) with μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ (*Tim.* 69D). Philo also touches the Platonic motive that love comes from the reunion of two parts of the same body; cf. 53, 6 ff., and *Symp.* 191A.

<sup>2</sup> *Ant. Iud.* 9, 13 ff. Josephus calls the firmament crystalline and does not state that it is different from the first heaven.

<sup>3</sup> 10, 3. He says that in Hebrew "Sabbath" means "rest." Cf. Cedrenus 9, 19.

<sup>4</sup> 10, 10; Zonaras 15, 21 ff.; Constant. Manasses 243-44.

in time, for there was no time when God was without Wisdom (*ibid.* 16 ff.).

Some were content to think the first-made heaven and earth those which we see (308, 1 ff.); but others differed. Giving the view of Philo, he continues to say that others took the heaven to mean an incorporeal thing, and earth matter without form, which is called "without form and void" because it has no qualities of its own, although it is the receptacle of all qualities (309, 1 ff.).

## CHAPTER III

### EARLY CHRISTIAN HEXAEMERA BEFORE BASIL

The period between Philo and Basil has left no complete Hexaemeron save the sections on the subject in the *Libri III ad Autolycum* of Theophilus Antiochenus and enough of the *De principiis* and of the commentaries on Genesis of Origen to allow us to form an adequate idea of his opinions.

In a passage of the *Hexaemeron* of Anastasius Sinaita (961D ff.) we are told that Papias of Hierapolis, the disciple of John, discussed Paradise, referring the biblical passages to the Christian church. Now Eusebius (*Hist. eccl.* III, 29, 1) and Jerome (*De uir. ill.* 17) state that Papias wrote only five volumes called *Explanatio sermonum Domini*, so that we are to infer that any treatment of the creation problem by Papias was purely incidental; nor is any more to be inferred from the fact that Pantaenus, Irenaeus, and Justin are mentioned in the same passage of Anastasius and in the same connection. The earliest Christian work, therefore, which has a place in the tradition is that of Theophilus. We have records, however, of lost Hexaemera written between the dates of Theophilus and Basil which show that the early church took great interest in the subject.<sup>1</sup>

The chief importance of this early period lies in the fact that during it was originated nearly every type or method of interpretation later developed by the great representatives of this form of literature. The beginnings of the type of which Augustine is the representative, wherein emphasis is laid upon the notion of the pre-existence of the forms of things in the Word, and upon the non-physical, to the neglect of the physical and material side of the problem, may be seen in the Platonic-Philonic elements of the early writings, namely, in their logos theory. On the other hand, there are found in Theophilus and in the fragments of Hippolytus

<sup>1</sup> See in the index Rhodon, Apion, Candidus, Maximus, Clement, Methodius, Hippolytus, Victorinus Petauionensis, Eusebius Emessenus, Heliodorus.

explanations of the physical phenomena of the creative week as well. By the special development of this part of the commentary to the comparative neglect of the theory of the divine plan there arose the Basilian type of exegesis. Still a third type is that which attempts to explain the scriptural narrative by making it an edifying allegory. From the statement of Anastasius cited above we should infer that Papias, Pantaenus, Irenaeus, Justin, and Clement made use of this method to a certain extent, and its employment by Origen is well known. There are also instances of allegorical interpretation in Theophilus (e.g., *ad Aut.* II, 14 ff.). Undoubtedly Philo, with whom this was a favorite method, herein influenced the Christian interpreters. Allegorical exegesis persisted throughout the history of the Hexaemera, but the discussion of its details will not form a part of the present study. A fourth variety is the poetic type, but this too will claim but passing attention, since for the most part the poetical Hexaemera are merely paraphrases of the biblical account. Finally there should be mentioned those short accounts of the creation which some of the chroniclers prefixed to their works. Josephus began his treatise on Jewish antiquities thus, as did Sextus Julius Africanus, who wrote at the beginning of the third century, and the practice was common among the Byzantine chroniclers.

For information as to the actual exegesis of the text of Genesis<sup>1</sup> we are forced to rely upon Theophilus and Origen, and such fragments of Hippolytus, Methodius, and Victorinus Petauionensis as survive. The account of Theophilus is the fullest of these. He and the rest of the church believed that God made matter out of nothing;<sup>2</sup> and God's work is different from that of a human artisan in that God makes his own material,<sup>3</sup> and in that God makes the heaven, which is the roof, before the earth, the founda-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 15, on the logos theory of the early Hexaemera. The logos as the creative agent was the aspect most emphasized; cf., e.g., Vict. Petau. *De fabr. mund.* 311A.

<sup>2</sup> *Ad Aut.* II, 10, 78, and 4, 54, where he takes issue with the Platonists on this matter.

<sup>3</sup> 56; for the same thought see Basil 32B; Ambrose 123A; Hugo of St. Victor 33B. Cicero (*ap. Lact. Inst.* II, 8, 10-11) had used the same comparison, but with the opposite conclusion, that God had his materials furnished him.

tion.<sup>1</sup> The "deep" of Gen. 1:2 means the waters (13, 94), which was the interpretation used by Basil and his followers. Theophilus also perhaps suggested to Basil the explanation that the darkness (Gen. 1:2) was due to the shadow cast by the heavens.<sup>2</sup> The "spirit," apparently wind or breath, was a vivifying principle, like the soul of man, and it separated heaven from the lower darkness (*supra*, p. 18): the command of God, the logos, then lighted the world beneath the heavens. The firmament which was then made is different from the heaven of Gen. 1:1 (96); it is the heaven visible to us. Half of the water was taken upon the firmament, whence it furnishes rain and dew; the other half remained below.<sup>3</sup> The water which had covered the earth was then drawn off to form the sea and the earth, which had previously been invisible because of the water,<sup>4</sup> was revealed. On the fourth day the luminaries were created and Theophilus (15, 100) gives the same reason as Philo for their late creation. In Philo's manner he allegorizes the number three (102). With the universal hesitancy of the Hexaemeral writers to admit that God is the cause of any evil he declares that the beasts became harmful only when their master, man, had sinned (*supra*, p. 5). Man's creation in God's image shows the honor due him (18, 108) and of the two accounts the second is added for the sake of explicitness.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps

<sup>1</sup> This too through Chrysostom became a Hexaemeral topic. Theophilus 13, 92; cf. Chrysostom II, 3, 30; Anast. Sin. 860D; Aethicus I, 1, 2; Glyca 29C; Procopius 40A.

<sup>2</sup> Theophilus *ibid.*; Basil 40C-41B; Ambrose 141AB; pseudo-Eustathius 709C; Glyca 32B; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* 85C.

<sup>3</sup> This and similar interpretations prevailed in the early period. Josephus *ap.* Philoponus 155, 1 had declared that a third of the water was solidified to make the firmament, a third was taken above and a third was left upon the earth; cf. Hippolytus (*fr. in Gen.* I, 7). Like Theophilus are Severianus of Gabala V, 3; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* I, 11; Gennadius *MPG LXXXV*, 1629A.

<sup>4</sup> Theophilus with the LXX read ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος in Gen. 1:2 and explained the former term in the manner indicated, being followed by Basil 29B; Ambrose 136C; Glyca 52B; Philoponus 61, 12; Augustine *Lit.* I, 13; Chrysostom IV, 2; Procopius 41B. Theophilus explained the latter term by saying that the earth had no plants and trees at first; he is followed by Basil, Ambrose, Philoponus (*ll. cc.*) and Theodoretus.

<sup>5</sup> Hippolytus *ap.* Leont. et. Johann. gives a similar explanation. The first account tells the fact and the second the manner of the same creation. Approximately the same explanation is given in other Hexaemera; cf. Beda *Hex.* 30C, 42C; Hrabanus 461A; Bruno 161C; Peter Comestor 1066B.

tacitly combating the doctrine of Philo, Theophilus says that the words "Let us make man" were addressed to the Son (*ibid.*).

Hippolytus, together with Theophilus, should undoubtedly be given much credit as a source for the Hexaemeral writers of the immediately succeeding period. St. Jerome says (*Ep. ad Pamm. et Oct.* 7, p. 749): "Nuper S. Ambrosius sic Hexaemeron illius (*sc.* Origenis) compilavit ut magis Hippolyti sententias Basilique sequeretur." We have seen that certain fragments of Hippolytus show his agreement with Theophilus (*supra*, p. 38), and another dealing with Gen. 1:7 seems to indicate that he was a source for Basil.<sup>1</sup> These facts, together with the statement of Jerome coupling so closely the names of Basil and Hippolytus, tend to show that Hippolytus probably interpreted the Genesis story in much the same fashion as Basil and was a rich source for him.

Theophilus and Hippolytus must be taken as the representatives of the prevailing type of the Hexaemeral thought of this period; compared with them, Origen, the third important writer of the time, was unique, less orthodox, and consequently less influential, although traces of his influence are not lacking. His doctrine of the Word was nearer to the Philonic type than that of his contemporaries, and for this alone, as the propagator of Platonic-Philonic doctrine, he is important. Most of his views on Hexaemeral matters are to be drawn from the *De principiis*, which we have partly in the translations of Rufinus and of Jerome (a few passages only were translated by the latter) and partly in the original Greek.

Origen's idea of God, in the first place, is peculiar. God is incorporeal; his nature is simple, admitting no variation (*De principiis* I, 1, 6) and his goodness is given as the reason for creation. But "He is not Absolute, but Perfect, and perfection itself is a condition."<sup>2</sup> Infinity would be incomprehensible even to an infinite God; therefore God created only a limited number of souls and only so much matter as he could fashion into a cosmos

<sup>1</sup> *Ap. Kirchenväter Comm. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss.*, Hippolytus I, 2, 51, where he says that the first day is called "one," not "first" to show that by its repetition it completes the week (*κυκλομένην καὶ ἑβδομάδα διατελοῦσαν*; cf. Basil 49AB).

<sup>2</sup> Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria* 159, and n. 2. In Origen's conception of God Bigg sees the Platonists' horror of the unlimited.

(*De pr.* II, 9, 1, with the Greek fragment) and thus his power is limited metaphysically by the a-priori incomprehensibility of infinity.

Origen also raised a question with regard to the deity which long continued to be a topic of the Hexaemera. If God's nature is simple and unchanging, how can he at any time begin to create? A father cannot be a father unless there be a son, and God cannot be omnipotent unless there be an outlet for his power (I, 2, 10). Origen is forced to answer that God made other worlds before this and will make others after it (III, 5, 3). Of course the creator must at least logically have preceded the series of worlds; for Origen elsewhere (I, 2, 2) says that wisdom was made before the creations prefigured in it. The question was raised by Augustine and others, and while they did not like Origen believe in a series of creations, they do hold with him that God is always a creator logically preceding created things. Methodius (*ap. Phot. cod.* 235) criticized Origen's answer. Methodius wrote in the dialogue form, and having elicited from his opponent a denial that God is changed now that he is not creating from what he was when he was creating, he concludes that he was not changed when he began to create from what he was previously.

According to Origen, the first creation (*Gen.* 1:1) included spiritual beings (*De prin.* II, 9, 1); it is not the world in which we dwell. At first these souls were equal, but they advanced, declined, or remained stationary in their condition in accordance with their faithfulness or unfaithfulness (I, 5, 5; II, 9, 2 and 6);<sup>1</sup> this depended wholly upon their own wills, for nothing was created substantially good or bad. Through sin they were reduced to corporeal life in this world (III, 5, 4).

On the creation of man Origen agreed with Philo. The creation described in *Gen.* chap. 1 refers to the *interior homo* made in God's image, the second account in *Gen.* 2:7 to corporeal man, the *plasmatus homo*.<sup>2</sup> There is little else that survives of Origen's commentaries on the Hexaemeron.

<sup>1</sup> Moeller, *Gesch. d. Kosm.* 549 ff. Philoponus 284, 15 ff. opposes this view, and there was further criticism in mediaeval times; *supra*, p. 11, n. 3. The doctrine evidently is based upon the Platonic metempsychosis.

<sup>2</sup> *Hom. in Gen.* 155C; *supra* p. 32; cf. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandrien* 359; *Philo Leg. All.* 74, 6 ff.

Origen's influence was felt in the polemic against astrology, a topic which after him was carried on by Basil, Ambrose, Philoponus, and others. Basil in particular uses many of Origen's arguments upon the futility of the horoscope. Origen, however, believed with Plato and Philo that the stars are animated (*De prin.* I, 7, 3, and *Phot. cod.* 8; cf. *De pr.* II, 9, 3); and he held that the "powers" of God can read his commands in the configurations of the stars (*Com. in Gen.* 61A).

The surviving portions of Hexaemeral writings considered above probably represent fairly accurately the nature of the exegesis employed at this time. From all indications, the majority of the interpreters were conservative and concrete in their views, abiding closely by the text of the Scriptures, while on the other hand their nearness to and familiarity with the philosophers led them to emphasize in no small degree the doctrine of the Word, wherein Christianity approached closest to philosophy, especially to the Alexandrian school with its tendency to set up a series of intermediaries between God and the world. The many agreements with Philo indicate that his works were well known and influential. Probably if we had more of the Hexaemera of this period we should find that most of them were very similar to the passages of Theophilus outlined above. The work whose loss is most to be deplored is the *Ἑξαήμερος* of Clement of Alexandria, which, to judge from Clement's extant works, must have shown more Philonic influence than the average in this period. Inasmuch as the authors of the Hexaemera were prone to follow standards, once these were set up, it is fair to suppose that Basil found much in the writings of this period which he made part of his own *Hexameron*.

## CHAPTER IV

### BASIL

The *Hexaemeron* of Basil the Great (bishop of Caesarea A.D. 370-79) is the earliest Christian document devoted exclusively to the subject of the six days of creation, and is of the utmost importance in the history of the Hexaemera.<sup>1</sup> Basil had the advantage of a good education at Athens, and was familiar, as his writings show, with Plato, Aristotle, and perhaps the neo-Platonists. The *Hexaemeron* was much imitated in later times and from it were drawn many of the topics which constantly recur. Some of the later Hexaemera are little but revampings of Basil's work, notably those of Ambrose, the pseudo-Eustathius, Philoponus, and Glyca. His work was translated into Latin by Eustathius and in this manner became more directly known to the Fathers of the western church, who had already known it indirectly through Ambrose. Although his influence was felt more strongly in the East than in the West, we find that Beda and his followers used many of the topics originated by Basil.

The *Hexaemeron* was in some particulars influenced directly by the *Timaeus*, but Basil's Platonism is likewise colored by reminiscences of Origen, Aristotle, and Philo, a fact which it is important to recognize.<sup>2</sup> Basil does not always agree with Plato.

<sup>1</sup> Studies of this work have been made by M. Berger (*Die Schöpfungslehre des hl. Basilius des Grossen*, Teile I u. II, Rosenheim, 1897, 1898) and E. Fialon (*Étude sur S. Basile*, Paris, 1869).

<sup>2</sup> Theodore Leslie Shear (*The Influence of Plato on St. Basil*, Baltimore, 1906) comparing the *Hexaemeron* with the *Timaeus*, is inclined to disregard the possibility that the influence of Plato may come to Basil through the intermediaries mentioned (cf. *BPW*, December 18, 1909), and is somewhat too rash in drawing parallels. His remarks on the passage where the interaction of the elements is described are without point, as was shown in *Cl. Phil.*, October, 1909, because the Basilian passage is thoroughly Aristotelian (cf. *De. gen. et corr.* ii, 4). The comparison of *Hex.* 33B 5 and *Tim.* 32C is based upon a misconception of Basil's meaning. Shear has, however, collected most of the real parallels between Basil and the *Timaeus*. E.g., there is a reminiscence of Plato's statement that earth is necessary to make a thing tangible

Plato is of course among those who believed in an eternal matter, against whom Basil argues (cf. 32Aff.), and Basil also finds fault with Plato's assertion that there is but one οὐρανός (56Dff.; cf. *Tim.* 33A; Plato of course used the term in a different sense from Basil). Basil also has the distinction between time and eternity—for he says that the "elder state" of the world was eternal and beyond time (13A)—and the topic that there was no time before creation (*supra*, pp. 7, 29), but the idea was so well known, occurring in both Philo and Origen, that we cannot tell whether or not it is due to Plato's influence that Basil uses it. There is however an important parallel between the two when Basil states that God bound the elements together by a bond of friendship (*Tim.* 32C; Basil 33A; Shear 27). The statement that the beasts, as contrasted with man, are bent toward the earth may be derived from Plato, but the idea was common in Basil's time (*supra*, p. 10). Basil refers in *Hex.* 57C to the well-known passage of the *Republic*, 616D, and makes reference to the theory which Plato certainly held, that the earth is immovable because it is in the exact center of the universe.<sup>1</sup> Basil does not contest the theory, but says that we should rather wonder at the wisdom of God, which ordains matters thus, than at the fact.

In language and in thought Basil gives evidence of the adoption, to some extent, of the Stoic doctrine of seminal logoi (*supra*, p. 17).

With Philo, Basil has in common the Platonic doctrine that

and fire to make it visible (*Tim.* 31B; Basil 25A; Shear 26); the etymology οὐρανός from ὀρᾶσθαι, which Shear (30) possibly correctly thinks Platonic, is found in Philo (11, 13); the Platonic topic of the two kinds of fire is found in Basil 121C 14; *Tim.* 58C (Shear 28). Other parallels are the phraseology in *Tim.* 39B and Basil 121B 5 (Shear 31); the commonplaces on the division of time, *Tim.* 39B; Basil 137B; Shear *loc. cit.*; the statements about the origin of flesh, *Tim.* 82C; Basil 168A; Shear 33, and the respiration of fish, *Tim.* 92A, Basil 149B; Shear *loc. cit.* The more important agreements will be especially mentioned. A probable minor parallel in phraseology occurs in Basil 132C and *Tim.* 38D.

Basil drew much scientific material from Aristotle. On this matter see K. Müllenhoff, *Aristoteles bei Basilius v. Caesarea*, *Hermes* II, 252-58, and the notes of Fialon on his translation of the *Hexaemeron*.

<sup>1</sup> *Hex.* 24B; *Phaedo* 108E; Shear 30. But see Arist. *De caelo* ii, 3, 286a 9ff. The scholiast on the Basilian passage refers it to Straton of Lampsacus; Giorgio Pasquali, "Doxographica aus Basiliusscholien," *Nachr. d. K. Ges. Wiss.*, Göttingen, 1910, 201, 203.

time did not exist before the creation, as noted above; but this is also found in the Homilies on Genesis of Origen (147A), which must have been known to Basil. Basil probably derived from Philo directly or indirectly the reason why the luminaries were not created until the fourth day (*supra*, p. 31), and the notion that both birds and fish swim (*supra*, p. 32, n. 3). Both likewise speak of underground veins of water (*supra*, p. 31) and Basil evidently refers to Philo and his school when he says that certain Jews assert that the plural verb in the command "Let us make man" signifies that the angels are addressed (*Hex.* 205B; *De op. mund.* 25, 17; *supra*, p. 33).

It is difficult to tell how much Basil drew from Origen, because so much of the work of the latter has been lost. It is generally supposed, however, that in asserting so firmly his belief that the upper waters are real water, and in rejecting an allegorical interpretation of the passage, Basil directs his arguments against Origen, with whom allegory was a favorite method of exegesis.<sup>1</sup> Basil owes many of his arguments against astrology to Origen, and the idea that it is impious to assert that God is ever inactive is common to Origen and Basil.<sup>2</sup>

Besides the influences which we can definitely trace, it is very probable that Basil is indebted to the lost Hexaemera of the previous century for many of his topics, and especially to Hippolytus.

The first two homilies of the *Hexaemeron* deal with Gen. 1:1-6. Basil does not so definitely as Origen weave into the Genesis narrative the doctrine of the Word; however he states that there was before this world's creation an "elder state," eternal and extra-temporal, in which "the creator and artificer of all completed his works, intelligible light befitting the blessedness of those that love the Lord, the rational and unseen natures, and the whole system of intelligible things which transcend our knowledge, of which we can discover not even the names" (13A). Another passage relating to the same state is 33A: ὁ δὲ θεός, πρὶν τι τῶν

<sup>1</sup> *Hex.* 76A. Cf. Garnerius' preface, *MPG*, XXIX, clxxxvii, and citations; also Origen *Hom. in Gen.* 148A; Fialon 373 nn.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Origen *De prin.* III, 5, 3; Basil 32B; Philo 2, 12. The sentiment is aimed at the Epicureans and perhaps Aristotle; *supra*, p. 14.

νὺν ὁρωμένων γενέσθαι, εἰς νοῦν βαλόμενος καὶ ὁρμήσας ἀγαγεῖν εἰς γένεσιν τὰ μὴ ὄντα, ὁμοῦ τε ἐνόησεν ὁποῖόν τινα χρὴ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι, καὶ τῷ εἶδει αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρμόζουσαν ὕλην συναπεγέννησε. καὶ οὐρανῷ μὲν ἀφώρισε τὴν οὐρανῷ πρέπουσαν φύσιν· τῷ δὲ τῆς γῆς σχήματι τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῇ καὶ ὀφειλομένην οὐσίαν ὑπέβαλε. πῦρ δὲ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀέρα διεσχημάτισέ τε ὥς ἐβούλετο, καὶ εἰς οὐσίαν ἤγαγεν ὥς ὁ ἐκάστου λόγος τῶν γινομένων ἀπῆτει. The clause "as the logos of each separate thing demanded" possibly implies that Basil believed that God created the ideas of things in the "elder state"; he did not, however, like Gregory of Nyssa, assert that, implanted by God in the world from the beginning, they brought out of matter the parts of the world mentioned in the account of the six days. In various passages he says that the commands of God as related in Genesis placed *logoi* in matter during the creative period, and that these *logoi* remained in things and determined their future conduct (*supra*, p. 17 and nn. 1-2). Basil's frequent assertions that God has arranged the world in a providential way imply that he believed in the doctrine of the Word.<sup>1</sup> But after the fashion of Milton, Basil prefers to depict the "elder state" as an extra-temporal period wherein the angels dwelt in heavenly light (cf. 13A ff., 40C ff.), rather than as God's timeless, changeless existence with his Word. His belief that the angels were created before the material world met with opposition at various times in the history of the church.<sup>2</sup>

The first creation as described in Gen. 1:1 consists of the matter of the universe already formed into the elements, which must be

<sup>1</sup> In various connections providence is mentioned in 13A, 33A, 64C ff., 68C ff., 69C, 76C ff., 100D, 113A, 112D, 156-157A, 160A, 193A, 193C, 197A, 200A.

<sup>2</sup> Among those who held the same opinion as Basil are Ambrose 131B; Philoponus 16, 19 ff. (a defense of Basil against Theodorus of Mopsuestia); Abelard 734A; Honorius *De im. mund.* II, 2; Aethicus I, 2, 1; Tatian *Orat.* 7; Glyca 168C ff., who cites as of the same opinion Basil's brothers Gregory of Nyssa and Caesarius, Anastasius, Severus, Diodorus, Amphilochius, and John of Damascus; Zonaras 13, 3; Anastasius 858B; Arnold of Chartres 1517A (quoting Basil, Ambrose, and Jerome); Greg. Naz. *Poem. dog.* IV, 93, *Orat.* 45, 5 (cited by Iobius *ap. Phot. cod.* 222, p. 186b 40 Bekk.); cf. also Theodos. Melit. 1, 14-18. The Augustinian doctrine is similar and was adopted by many. Theodorus of Mopsuestia (*ap. Philop. loc. cit.*) held that the angels were a part of the world and created with it; so also Procopius 36A; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* I, 3; Cosmas 167.

understood to have been included as the means, in a sense, between the extremes heaven and earth.<sup>1</sup> It was not created wholly without form, and Basil explicitly denies that the words "unformed and void" refer to an eternal formless principle like the Aristotelian substrate (29C ff.); but God made the world, form and matter together, formed primarily into the four elements and secondarily into the *maxima mundi membra*, heaven and earth.<sup>2</sup> Basil's conception of matter is not so clear and consistent as that of his brother Gregory of Nyssa. Following Aristotle, Basil definitely states in 121B that matter can be analyzed into quality and substrate, which we can separate in thought only, but which God can actually separate, and so did when he created the brightness of light first and the body of the sun later;<sup>3</sup> and his explanation of the interaction of the elements by means of pairs of like qualities is Aristotelian. Yet he refuses to regard the heaven of Gen. 1:1 as "the substrate, a nature devoid of qualities" on the ground that "if you take away the black, the cold, the heavy, the dense, the qualities existing in the substance through the sense of taste, or whatever else is observed about it, the substrate will be nothing" (21A). This statement is substantially in agreement with Gregory (*infra*, p. 55) but it is inconsistent with Basil's views elsewhere expressed.

Nearly as much space in the first two homilies is devoted to the criticism of the philosophers who believed the world to be coeternal with God as to the exposition of Basil's own views. He believed that matter was made out of nothing by God, but

<sup>1</sup> 20A. In proof Basil points out that even now the other elements are found in the earth. Reminiscences are found in Ambrose 132B; Glyca 36C; Philoponus 12, 6; Theodos. Melit. 1, 7; Beda *Hex.* 15A; Angelomus 115D; Hrabanus 446A; Wandalbert 635D; Honorius *Hex.* 257A; Bruno 149A.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 33A cited above and 33B: ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· οὐκ ἐξ ἡμισείας ἐκάτερον, ἀλλ' ὅλον οὐρανὸν καὶ ὅλην γῆν, αὐτὴν τὴν οὐσίαν τῷ εἶδει συνειλημμένην. He goes on to assert that if matter without form and God with the knowledge of forms existed independently they could not interact.

<sup>3</sup> 121A ff., 44C. Others who held that the "nature" of light was made first, following Basil, are pseudo-Eustathius 717B; Glyca 57B ff.; Severianus 434; Procopius 85C ff.; Theodos. Melit. 1, 11 ff.; Greg. Nyss. *Hex.* 116A ff. Philoponus 76 ff. accepts Basil's view with the stipulation that the transparent air was the substrate of the light.

rather as an article of faith dependent upon the revelation to Moses<sup>1</sup> than as a thing logically to be proved. Consequently his arguments against the philosophers are merely destructive. Those who assert that the cause of the universe is the elements or atoms,<sup>2</sup> he says in 8AB, leave the ordering of the world to chance. Those who reason from the standpoint of mathematics and astronomy declare that God and the world are coeternal, not remembering that a whole, whose parts are mutable and destructible, is itself of the same nature (9C-12A).<sup>3</sup> Nor is God the involuntary creator of the world, as the body makes its shadow (17B ff.);<sup>4</sup> Moses' words refute them, for God *ἐποίησεν ὡς ἀγαθὸς τὸ χρήσιμον, ὡς σοφὸς τὸ κάλλιστον, ὡς δυνατὸς τὸ μέγιστον*. Again in 32A ff. he combats those that hold matter pre-existent.<sup>5</sup> It would be impious to make unformed matter thus equal in honor with the all-wise and all-powerful God, and again, if matter is capable of engaging all God's wisdom, they make it equal to God's unfathomable power;<sup>6</sup> while if it is not enough to occupy God's efforts, they must blasphemously assert that God is idle (*supra*, p. 6).

Matter then had a beginning, as Moses says, and Basil (16A ff.) defines "beginning" in four ways: (1) as the first motion; (2) as the point from which a thing begins; (3) as the art which produces an artistic product, and (4) as the useful end,<sup>7</sup> showing that all four apply to Gen. 1:1. In the case of the world, there is (1) the first movement of time, (2) the foundations of the world in the heaven and earth, (3) a *τεχνικὸς λόγος* which presides over creation, and (4) a useful end toward which God directs creation,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 8B, 12B ff., where he says that science has proved useless as a means to gain knowledge of God; Berger 18.

<sup>2</sup> See *schol.* I-II, *op. cit.*, p. 195, which refer the charges to certain of the pre-Socratics and Epicurus.

<sup>3</sup> The scholiast says that Aristotle and Theophrastus are meant; *ibid.* Nos. VI-VII. *Supra*, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Referring to the neo-Platonists; Berger 30 ff.; Fialon 262-63. For the neo-Platonic position see Zeller III, 2, 550, and n. 3, 553, n. 1, and citations.

<sup>5</sup> Plato (see Berger I, 23) and his school.

<sup>6</sup> This is what Origen did; *supra*, p. 39.

<sup>7</sup> Drawn from Arist. *Met.* iv, 1; cf. Berger I, 4; Fialon 312. Reminiscences are found in Philoponus 7, 8; Ambrose 128; Hrabanus 444A; Procopius 36C ff.

not vainly and at random. The beginning itself is not time nor even a part of it (16C). Time was created with the world (13B) and fittingly involves in itself things moving toward generation and destruction (*ibid.*, C, *supra*, p. 7), but all prior existence, of God, his Word, and his angels, was extra-temporal.

Basil did not admit, as we have seen, that the first heaven was a substance entirely without qualities; waiving discussion, he declares himself satisfied with the description of its form and nature in Isaiah 51:6 and 40:22. It is "an attenuated nature, and not solid or thick" (20C-21A).<sup>1</sup> He shows that the earth cannot rest upon water, air, or any solid support (21B ff.), but is upheld by God,<sup>2</sup> although Basil did not deny the validity of the reasons of science why the earth is in the center of the universe.

Explaining the meaning of *ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος* (Gen. 1:2 after the LXX), Basil in 29A ff. states that the first term is applied to the earth because there was no one to behold it and, as Theophilus had said, because it was covered with water, and the second because it was not furnished with herbs, trees, and the like. "Unformed and void" applies also to the heaven.<sup>3</sup> The darkness upon the face of the waters was not, as the Manichaeans thought, an entity, but was due to the shutting off of the light in which the angels dwelt when the heaven was interposed.<sup>4</sup> Discussing the reference to the spirit of God in the same verse, Basil says that according to a certain Syrian, the original Hebrew would be translated by *συνέθαλπε* better than by *ἐπεφέρετο*, the figure being that of a bird sitting upon her eggs. This passage was much imitated,

<sup>1</sup> Later writers employ the same scriptural citation; for references to it and to Basil, cf. Ambrose 132C; Beda *Com.* 192A; Augustine *Lit.* II, 9, 21-22; Procopius 40B; Pisides 90 ff.; Glyca 36A, 41B; pseudo-Eustathius 709B.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ambrose 134A; Honorius *De. im. m.* I, 5; on Cosmas, *infra*, p. 60; Cl. Marius Victor, *Alethia* I, 80 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Not all the later expositors held this view; see p. 62.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ambrose 141AB; pseudo-Eustathius 709C; Glyca 32B; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* 85C (which, however, Sirmond probably rightly rejects); Theodos. Melit. 1, 9; Anast. Sin. 859A. Procopius 45A says that the heavenly light being intelligible could not be shut off; and Severianus 435 criticizing Basil on the ground that heaven is light, not dark, gives the explanation that a mist arose and caused the darkness.

the most important citation of it being in Jerome's *Quaestiones in Genesim*.<sup>1</sup>

The discussion of vs. 3, where it is asserted that the commands of God were not spoken like those of a human being, but were the simple exercise of God's will (45B; cf. 56A, 149A), gave rise to a regular topic of the later Hexaemera,<sup>2</sup> and Basil's solution of the problem raised by the passage, how the light could be created before the sun, as noted above, likewise was frequently mentioned. Before the luminaries were created as its vehicles the light caused day and night by being drawn back and sent forth.<sup>3</sup>

The firmament is different from the first heaven, and supports real water, the purpose of which is to offset the drying power of the upper fires.<sup>4</sup> As for the nature of the firmament, Basil explains

<sup>1</sup> Basil 44B; Jerome 987B; Diodorus of Tarsus 1563C; Ambrose 139A; Augustine *Lit.* I, 18; pseudo-Eucherius 895B; Glyca 96C; Honorius *Hex.* 254C; Abelard 735D; Erigena II, 19; Walafrid Strabus 70B; Angelomus 116A; Du Bartas 10 in Sylvester's translation; Procopius 45C; Peter Comestor 1057A; Raleigh I, 1, 6. Through Du Bartas the idea came to Milton: *P.L.* VII, 234 ff.:

but on the watery calm  
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread  
And vital virtue infused and vital warmth  
Throughout the fluid mass.

In the passage of Abelard cited, the idea is combined with another, that of the cosmic egg. The yolk of an egg corresponds to the earth, the white to water, the membranous lining to the air, the shell to fire (so Conches, *De phil. mund.* 85A). The details of the same comparison differ slightly in Honorius *De. im. mund.* I, 1, and Pisides 1219 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ambrose 142C; Greg. Nyss. *Hex.* 88C; Philoponus 5, 21; Augustine *Man.* I, 9, 15; *Lib. imp.* 5, 19; *Lit.* I, 9, 16; *Conf.* XI, 6; pseudo-Eucherius 895D; Bruno 149A. Theophilus (*supra*, p. 38) apparently referred the commands in Genesis to the Word; as did Augustine and his followers (*supra*, p. 20).

<sup>3</sup> 48C. Augustine *Lit.* IV, 22 found this theory too difficult to accept. Though Basil did not so believe (cf. 48B, 137B) Ambrose, who did not adopt all Basil's doctrine of the first light, says (191B): *Sed consideremus quia aliud est lumen dei, aliud lumen solis et lunae et lumen stellarum, eo quod sol ipse radiis suis fulgorem diurno lumini uideatur adiungere*, etc. Hence the statement of Bruno 149B; similarly pseudo-Eustathius 717D ff. claimed that the sun is lighted by the day.

<sup>4</sup> 56D ff., where Basil, opposing the view of those that say there is but one heaven, says that he will even admit that there is a third, that to which the apostle Paul was snatched. Basil and his brother Gregory differed upon the subject of the drying power of the fire. Basil declared that the fire would have eventually dried up all the water had not God made a sufficient supply to last as long as the world (64C ff.), while Gregory held that an even balance is maintained in the total amounts of the

the definition of *σπερέον* given by the philosophers (60 D ff.) and adds that the Scriptures use the word to refer to thunder, which he thinks is caused by the breaking forth of air closely confined and made more dense in the hollows of the clouds.<sup>1</sup> But the firmament, although it is generally thought that it was made out of the waters,<sup>2</sup> is neither ice nor any crystalline stone of the varieties thought to result from the excessive solidification of water (61A ff.).<sup>3</sup> It is not called firmament from its solidity, resistance, or weight, but in contrast with the upper parts of the universe, which are so fine in quality as to be imperceptible; it is "a place having the faculty of separating moisture," letting the finer parts pass aloft and the coarser below (68B ff.). Basil answers the objection that the waters could not stay on the surface of the firmament without slipping off by saying that because the firmament looks vaulted from the inside it does not follow that it is rounded on the outside.<sup>4</sup>

The fourth homily deals with the collection of the waters and the appearance of the dry land. Basil asserts that the water by God's command at this time received the property of flowing down hill, so that God does not command it to do a perfectly natural thing.<sup>5</sup> The same command was responsible for the appearance at that time of the hollows in which the sea and its arms lie.<sup>6</sup> The sea, that is, the ocean of which the circumnavi-

elements, each having the power to exhaust the others (*Hex.* 89A ff.). The function of the waters above the firmament as a shield against the fire is a frequently mentioned Hexaemeral topic; pseudo-Eustathius 712B; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* I, 11; Ambrose 150B; Augustine *Lit.* II, 5; Gennadius *ap. MPG* LXXXV, 1629B; Glyca 40B; Severianus II, 3; Abelard 743D; Isidorus *De ord. creat.* 921B; Du Bartas 52 in Sylvester's translation; Wandalbert 636B; Procopius 72B ff.; Cl. Marius Victor I, 71 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Aristotle *Meteor.* ii, 9; Fialon *op. cit.* 361, n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> So Hippolytus had said (*fr. in. Gen.* 1:7). Cf. Theodos. Mel. 2, 5-6.

<sup>3</sup> For such views see Josephus *Ant. Jud.* 9, 13 (cf. Glyca 41C, who cites him but follows Basil); so also Gennadius 1629B; Severianus 442; Procopius 72C; cf. Theodoretus 92B; Cosmas 168. Philoponus 118, 6 thinks it was made out of water and is like glass. Following Basil are Theodos. Mel. 2, 7-9; Raleigh I, 1, 8 (citing Basil); Milton *P.L.* VII, 263: "And God made The firmament, expanse of liquid, pure, Transparent elemental air."

<sup>4</sup> 60BC; cf. Ambrose 148D.

<sup>5</sup> 81C; cf. Procopius 73C; *supra*, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> 85B; so Greg. Nyss. *Hex.* 89A (who added that similar receptacles were then prepared for the upper waters on the outer surface of heaven); Glyca 52D; Procopius *loc. cit.*; Severianus II, 1; Beda *Hex.* 20B; Hrabanus 451B; Angelomus 119D; Peter Lombard II, 14, 5; Bandinus II, 14; DuBartas 60 in Sylvester's translation; Theodosius Mel. 2, 13 ff.; Milton *P.L.* VII, 289.

gators tell,<sup>1</sup> was brought into its present confines and kept there by God's command, so that it cannot encroach upon the dry land.<sup>2</sup> At this point Basil introduces an elaborate encomium of the sea, together with a list of the principal rivers, which furnished an example for the later writers.<sup>3</sup>

The homilies that follow deal with the creation of the fish, birds, beasts, herbs, and trees. There are here introduced, for the first time in the Hexaemeral tradition, anecdotes about the animal and vegetable kingdoms, illustrating the idea that Providence creates nothing, even things apparently harmful, which is without its use to man or beast, and that Providence endows irrational creatures with the instincts of self-preservation. Ultimately many of these anecdotes came from Aelian and Aristotle; but Basil probably drew them from the *Physiologus*, a collection of about fifty such stories which seems to have originated in Alexandria early in the Christian era.<sup>4</sup> Basil himself became a source for this material; the later writers who introduce such matter are Ambrose, the pseudo-Eustathius, Glyca, Pisides, and DuBartas.

The herbs and trees passed through the process of development to maturity in a short space of time (104A). In their structure they give many evidences of the providential ordering of the universe—for example, the joints in the stem of the reed prevent its being broken by the weight of the head (100D).

Basil now passes to the discussion of the creation of the luminaries. The sun was made as the substance to receive the quality light, made separately by the first command of God.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 85C ff.; Glyca 49D; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* I, 12; Ambrose 161C; pseudo-Eustathius 713A; Severianus III, 1; Beda *loc. cit.*; Honorius *Hex.* 256B. Jerome *Heb. Qu.* 988A is sometimes cited here to the effect that in Hebrew any collection of water is a "sea"; Peter Comestor 1059C.

<sup>2</sup> 84B; cf. Glyca 52B; Rupert of Deutz 228C; pseudo-Eustathius 712C; Pisides 393 ff.; Du Bartas 61 (Sylvester); Bas. Seleuc. 32B.

<sup>3</sup> 65C ff.; cf. Arist. *Meteor.* i, 13, 14 ff. (see Müllenhoff, *Hermes* II, 252 ff.). DuBartas gives a similar list of rivers.

<sup>4</sup> See F. Lauchert, *Gesch. d. Physiologus*, Strassburg, 1889; K. Krumbacher, *Byz. Lit.* 874 ff.; *Encyc. Brit.* s.v. "Physiologus."

<sup>5</sup> 121A ff., using the Aristotelian terminology. Cf. Milton, *P.L.* VII, 359, 361: "Of light by far the greater part he took . . . and placed . . . In the sun's orb."

The luminaries as "signs" are useful in foretelling weather conditions and the like, but the pretensions of astrology are false.<sup>1</sup>

The last three homilies deal with the creation of fish, birds, beasts, and finally man. Much of their content is devoted to the recital of the anecdotes mentioned above. Basil approaches the discussion of the creation of man with great reluctance and in comparison with the other topics treated he devotes a very short space to this. This defect was later supplied by the homilies on the creation of man by his brother, Gregory of Nyssa. Basil interprets the use of the plural "Let us make" as a reference to the Son,<sup>2</sup> and censures certain Jews—doubtless including Philo—for saying that God addressed himself or that God addressed the angels (204C, 205B). The use of the singular number in "God made", following, shows that God is one, and is a guard against Greek polytheism.

<sup>1</sup> 125 ff. Plato briefly condemned astrology, *Tim.* 40CD; cf. Shorey's note, *AJP* X, 58. Plotinus *Enn.* II, 3 protested against it; cf. also Philo 18, 15 ff., 19, 14 ff. Basil borrows many of his arguments against astrology from Origen. E.g., both make the point that it is impossible to cast the horoscope exactly at the moment of the child's birth (Basil 129A; Origen *Com. in Gen.* 77); that if the stars cause evil, the responsibility for the same is cast upon their maker (Basil 132D; Origen 53B); and finally, that if the stars govern human destinies, man is not responsible for his actions at all (Basil 133B; Origen 52). Most of the writers say that predictions of the weather, seasons, and the like are all that can be made from the stars; cf. pseudo-Eustathius 720B ff.; Glyca 69D; Severianus III, 3; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* I, 15; Honorius *Hex.* 257D; Hrabanus 455A; Angelomus 120D; Rupert of Deutz 235D; Beda *Hex.* 22B ff., *Com.* 197D; Ambrose 198AB; Augustine *Lit.* II, 14, *Lib. imp.* 13; Philoponus 187, 21 ff.; Abelard 751B ff. Some say that the stars influence the human body or character: Neckam I, 7; Hugo of St. Victor 36C; others say they foretell wars and disasters; DuBartas (Sylvester 103); Glyca 77B; Theodoretus *loc. cit.*; cf. Ambrose 195A. The Byzantine chroniclers admit the validity of divinations if reverently performed and not in excess; Theod. Mel. 3, 3 ff. The later writers tend to have some belief in astrology; cf. Raleigh I, 1, 11. Augustine admits that astrologers, either by unconscious occult power or by the help of evil spirits, sometimes tell the truth; *Lit.* II, 17, 37.

<sup>2</sup> This is a regular topic of the Hexaemera; Theophilus II, 18, 108 had employed it. Following Basil are Ambrose 169A, 257AB; Philoponus 235, 20; Augustine *Lib. imp.* 16; Abelard 760B; Greg. Nyss. *De hom. op.* 140B, *Hom. in. uerb. Fac. Hom.* 259C; Glyca 148D; pseudo-Eucherius 900C; Severianus IV, 5; Beda *Hex.* 28D, *Com.* 200C; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* I, 19; Hildebert 1215D; Peter Lombard II, 16, 1; Bandinus II, 16; Hugo of St. Victor 37C; Angelomus 122A; Remi 57A; Theodos. Melit. 4, 18 ff.; Bas. Seleuc. 36A; Hrabanus 459C; Bruno 157A; Peter Comestor 1063C; Milton *P.L.* VII, 518: "then to his Son audibly spake."

## CHAPTER V

### THE FOLLOWERS OF BASIL

In the discussion of the later Greek and the Byzantine writers on the Hexaemeron the influence of both Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa, the latter the brother of Basil and both contemporary with him, must be considered.

Of these two eminent theologians, the former wrote no Hexaemeron, but mention of him is constantly made in the later writings, and he treated incidentally of the creation, although without reference to the six days, in passages of his *Orationes* and in one whole section of the *Poemata dogmatica* (4). Among the Hexaemeral topics which he mentions may be cited that of the *νοητὸς κόσμος* (*Or.* 38, 10; *P.D.* 4, 67); God's goodness as the cause of creation (*Or.* 45, 5; *P.D.* 4, 62 ff.); the prior creation of the angels (*supra*, p. 45); the denial of the Manichaean contention that the first darkness was the principle of evil and a substance (*P.D.* 4, 24 ff.), and the statement that man is a microcosmus (*Or.* 38, 11).

Gregory dwells upon the notion that God is actively interested in the universe, and attacks the theories that assert the contrary. God was "moved by the contemplation of himself" before the creation,<sup>1</sup> but this did not satisfy his goodness, and creation<sup>2</sup> took place to give it broader scope. It is a Greek fable that matter and form are coeternal with God (*P.D.* 4, 3-4). Gregory also faces the questions how God can be impelled to create, and why he created so late, and answers them by saying that to God, who rules in eternity, not in time, all things are one (*P.D.* 4, 71).

Gregory of Nyssa dealt more directly with the Hexaemeron, and, as a source for the later Greek compilations, ranks second

<sup>1</sup> *P.D.* 4, 62 ff.; *Or.* 45, 5; cf. Arist. *Met.* xii, 1072b 15. Gregory defines God largely by negations; cf. R. Gottwald, *De Gregorio Nazianzeno Platonico*, Breslau, 1906, which is an excellent index of Gregory's philosophical beliefs from the standpoint of their Platonic tendencies.

<sup>2</sup> The terms descriptive of God's creative action are *ποιεῖν*, *ἐκποιεῖν* (*Or.* 45, 5; 38, 10; *P.D.* 4, 20). Cf. *P.D.* I, 34 on the Son.

only to Basil. To him are ascribed two sets of homilies on the creation of man and a treatise on the Hexaemeron. In the latter, written at the request of his brother, Peter of Sebaste, Gregory declares that it is his purpose to defend Basil against certain critics who alleged obscurity in the explanation of the making of the light and the later creation of the luminaries, and in the passages dealing with the heaven, the firmament, and the heaven to which Paul was snatched (*Hex.* 64C). His own explanation why Basil's account was not satisfactory to all is the very natural one that Basil framed his discourse to suit a miscellaneous audience (65A).

Gregory had high respect for his brother Basil and was loath to reject any of his interpretations. He too declared that "heaven and earth" must be taken to include all other things intermediate between these two extremes (69D), and his notion of the light which was first made is essentially like that of Basil (116A ff.). In the course of his argument, however, Gregory advances theories unlike those of Basil, and he differs from the latter in stating that the world of sense is bounded by the world of ideas, a notion which perhaps was suggested by the myth of the *Phaedrus*.<sup>1</sup>

It has been seen that the underlying theory of the cosmology of Gregory is that God created all things potentially in the beginning in the creation of their logoi or natures (*supra*, p. 17), and that the subsequent development of the world is the working out of the processes set in motion by the divinely created causes.<sup>2</sup> Gregory's account of the first steps in this development is as follows. When all matter was made together, the elements were mingled and the light of the fire was obscured by the preponderance of other substances (72D). But the fire, because of its natural mobility, rose quickly to the outmost edge of the sensible world, and there, since it had nothing in common with the world of ideas

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Phaedr.* 246E ff. For a discussion of the influence of the *Phaedrus* myth upon Aristotle's doctrine of the spheres, ancient philosophical thought, the Hebrew apocalyptic literature, and finally upon Christian thought, and especially upon Dante, see J. A. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato*, London, 1905, 350 ff. It is remarkable that its influence upon Gregory was not noted by C. Gronau (*De Basilio Gregorio Nazianzeno Nyssenoque Platonis imitatoribus*, Göttingen, 1908).

<sup>2</sup> His assumption that the first-made heaven and the firmament are identical allows him to escape the difficulty raised by the description of its creation on the second day.

and could not mingle with it, naturally began a circular motion, because motion in a straight line was precluded (77A), by its passage above and below the lower mass making day and night. All this Moses ascribed to the direct command of God that it might be evident that natural sequence is due to God's direction. The firmament is simply the boundary of the material world (80D), called firm by contrast with the ideas beyond, not because it is actually something firm and material (80D, 81A). Above it, in the world of ideas, and hence different from the lower waters, are the upper waters (84C ff.). The form of speech in Genesis shows that the two kinds of waters were never mingled. The firmament and the first-made heaven are identical (85B).

Most of the remainder of the treatise is occupied with a detailed discussion of the question on which Gregory and Basil differed, whether or not the fires of heaven destroy the waters below them (*supra*, p. 49, n. 4). Gregory's belief that the elements pass into one another<sup>1</sup> and his account of the method of this change, with the use of the Aristotelian term *ἀλλοίωσις*,<sup>2</sup> show that Gregory knew Aristotle's theories and to a certain extent adopted them. But he distinctly states that matter is made up of the qualities (69C),<sup>3</sup> all of which are in themselves purely conceptual; and so, although he often uses the Aristotelian term *ὑποκείμενον* (cf. 108D, etc.) and apparently imitates Aristotle's account of physical change, his fundamental principles are not purely Aristotelian.

Gregory's other works which bear upon the Hexaemeron are the treatise on the creation of man and the two sermons upon the same subject, which supplement the *Hexaemeron* of Basil. In the absence of Basilian material the later commentators drew often from Gregory upon the subject of man and his creation.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Hex.* 108B and *Arist. De gen. et corr.* 329b, 24 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Hex.* 104D: . . . ἀνωσθεις ὁ ἀτμός . . . καὶ ἐν τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς ὑγρᾶς ποιότητος τὸ ὑλικὸν διεσώσατο, ξηρὸς δὲ γενόμενος πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς καθειλκύνεσθαι καὶ ἀπεκατέστη γῆ. *Arist. De gen. et corr.* 329b 10: ἀλλοίωσις μὲν ἐστίν, ὅταν ὑπομείνοντος τοῦ ὑποκειμένου, αἰσθητοῦ ὄντος, μεταβάλλῃ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πάθεσιν, ἢ ἐναντίοις οὖσιν ἢ μεταξύ. The term ἀλλοίωσις is found in 104B, 108B, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Those named are κοῦφον, βαρὺ, ναστόν, ἀραιόν, μαλακόν, ἀντίτυπον, ὑγρόν, ξηρόν, ψυχρόν, θερμόν, χρωμα, περιγραφή, διάστημα.

At the beginning of the treatise *De opificio hominis* Gregory briefly summarizes the work of the previous days of creation. In the beginning heaven surrounded matter, of which the heavy parts settled in the middle. God's power bound it together by the two forces rest and motion (128C), and his wisdom assigned spatial change to the heavens, which are not subject to qualitative change, and, vice versa, qualitative change to the unmoving lower mass, so that no one might conclude from the immutability of creation that it was God.<sup>1</sup>

Of the topics in the *De opificio hominis* which were echoed by later writers some of the most important are the comparison of man's entrance into the world to the entrance of a king into his kingdom;<sup>2</sup> the identification of the divine image in man not only with his rational powers and virtues but also with his kingly qualities;<sup>3</sup> mention of the fact that man is called the microcosmus (177D ff.); the topic of his erect stature (144B, *Hom. in uerb. Fac. Hom.* 293C); and the statement that the form of the divine command that created him showed man honor, because all other things had been created by a single word.<sup>4</sup> Much is said of the design displayed in the creation of man. Man is unarmed with horns, hoofs, or the like,<sup>5</sup> but if he were thus armed, he would be but a beast; his ingenuity has devised better substitutes and has subdued the animals to his will (140D ff.). Especial emphasis is laid upon the fact that man alone has hands,<sup>6</sup> which allows him free opportunity to exercise his rational faculties; for example, if

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plato, *Polit.* 269D; Plut. *De an. proc. in Tim.* 1024E; Pisides 352 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 132D; Theod. Mel. 4, 5 ff.; Chrysostom VIII, 3; Procopius 116A; Gregory 133B also compares the induction of man into the world to the inviting of a guest to a banquet; *supra*, p. 33; and in Severianus IV, 3, pseudo-Eucherius 901A, and Beda Com. 201C man is compared to the master of a house.

<sup>3</sup> 136B ff.; cf. Severianus V, 3-4; Philoponus 239, 17 ff.; Diodorus of Tarsus 1564C; Theodoretus *Qu. in Gen.* I, 20; Theodos. Mel. 4, 27 ff.; Raleigh I, 2, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *De hom. op.* 136A, *Hom. in uerb. Fac. Hom.* 259A; Theod. Mel. 4, 15 ff.; Peter Comestor 1064A.

<sup>5</sup> The earliest examples of this topic are Xen. *Cyrop.* ii, 3, 9; Plat. *Prot.* 320E ff.; Arist. *De part. an.* iii, 2, 662b, 28 ff. For a collection of passages and discussion, cf. S. O. Dickerman, *op. cit.*, 48 ff., who refers them to a source before Xenophon and Euripides, perhaps Protagoras.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Dickerman 82.

he had no hands, his mouth would have to be of the proper shape to gather food after the manner of beasts, and he would be dumb (148C). Gregory here discusses a topic also found in the Latin *Hexaemera*, what would have been the means of continuing the race had there been no sin, and concludes that there would have been no need of marriage then (189A). The soul was made at the same time as the body (233D).<sup>1</sup> In the passage dealing with the physiology of man at the end of the treatise teleology is again a common motif. The Homilies on the text "Let us make man" contain many of the usual topics but nothing of especial importance.

In the later Greek *Hexaemera*, Basil and Gregory are by far the chief authorities. Some authors follow very closely the lead of Basil—for example, Ambrose, Philoponus, and the pseudo-Eustathius—or of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa—as Procopius and the Byzantine chroniclers; but over against these may be set the authors of *Hexaemera* of the more unscientific and credulous variety. Theodorus of Mopsuestia and his teacher, Diodorus of Tarsus, began this movement, in which the other prominent names are those of Theodoretus, Severianus of Gabala, and Cosmas Indicopleustes. These authors disagreed in some matters with the Basilian school, and held certain new and distinctive ideas. Besides this group there belong in this period Johannes Chrysostomus and Anastasius Sinaita, whose *Hexaemera* are largely of the allegorical and edifying character, and will therefore receive but passing notice. The Byzantine chroniclers,<sup>2</sup> who give short accounts of the six days' work, form a fourth group; and in addition should be mentioned the Byzantine poet Pisides. His *Hexaemeron* was the model of Du Bartas, and without giving a clear account of the six days, presents scientific discussions of the heavens and their movements, sections dealing with the angels and the

<sup>1</sup> In setting forth this view he condemns what he calls the Grecizing of Origen (229B ff.).

<sup>2</sup> The Byzantine chronicles were mere compilations made to serve the particular purpose of the writer and are hardly to be regarded as separate literary works; Krumbacher, *Byz. Lit.* 362. They added nothing new on the *Hexaemeron*. See in the index Symeon Logothetes, Syncellus, Cedrenus, Anonymous of the 10th century, pseudo-Polydeuces, Theodosius Melitenus, Leo Grammaticus, Zonaras, Manasses, Glyca.

doctrine of the Trinity, and many of the stories drawn from the *Physiologus*.

Among the writers who follow Basil most closely, Philoponus and Ambrose are the most important. The former of these, the Aristotelian commentator, was a learned man, and his *De opificio mundi* is really a commentary on Basil's *Hexaemeron*, which he tries to explain by using material drawn from Plato,<sup>1</sup> Aristotle,<sup>2</sup> and the astronomers.<sup>3</sup> Philoponus aims to defend Basil's position, and an important part of his work is the defense of Basil against Theodorus of Mopsuestia and his polemic against the latter.<sup>4</sup> In his discussions of the numbers six and seven (304, 18 ff.) there are traces of the influence of Philo.

The importance of the *Hexaemeron* of Ambrose lies in the fact that it, even more than the translation by Eustathius, introduced the ideas of Basil to the western church. As an independent work the *Hexaemeron* has little value. In the portion dealing with the six days proper, Ambrose is almost entirely dependent upon Basil, with a few reminiscences of Philo.<sup>5</sup> Ambrose adds in the last of his homilies matter concerning the human body,

<sup>1</sup> He quotes the *Timaeus* fully 30 times (see Reichardt's index). Most of the citations are of well-known passages like 29E, 30A and 41B. The Platonic statement that the stars are composed mostly of fire is mentioned with approval; cf. 189, 25 ff.; 186, 3; 118, 13; 120, 7. The statement that love came to exist because woman was made of Adam's rib (272, 12) seems to be a reminiscence of the *Symposium* myth. The definition of philosophy (*Theaet.* 176B) is quoted with approval, 242, 11. On the other hand he says that elsewhere he has attempted to refute the doctrine of ἀνάμνησις in Proclus and Plato (288, 5).

<sup>2</sup> E.g., the discussion of the term "beginning," Philop. 7, 8 ff., Basil 16A, Ar. *Met.* iv, 1; the definition of privation, 69, 6 ff. (esp. 71, 22), Ar. *Met.* iv, 22; the discussion of the first-made light, *supra*, p. 46; the theory of the elements, *supra*, p. 13; cf. also 277, 26 ff., and Ar. *De. an.* 412a, 15 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Aiming to show that Moses' description of the world was in accord with Greek science.

<sup>4</sup> For saying that the angels are circumscribed in space (35, 15 ff.) and were made with the material world (16, 15 ff.); for calling the darkness in Gen. 1:2 an entity (84 ff.); and for disbelieving in the sphericity of the earth (125, 19 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Cohn-Wendland *Phil. Al. Opera*, I, lxiii, cite two passages of the *Hexaemeron* as showing Philonic influence (166C ff.; cf. *De. op. m.* 14, 12 ff.; 225C ff.; cf. *De. op. m.* 21, 5 ff.); cf. however Basil 96AB, 169A ff.; in the first case there is surely Basilian influence. For Philonic influence on Ambrose see Cohn-Wendland *op. cit.*, lxii ff., lxxxx ff.

showing that it was admirably contrived by God to meet the needs of man. The sources of this part of the work still remain obscure.<sup>1</sup>

Ambrose strenuously opposes the theory that there was an ideal pattern of the world outside of the will of God, who, he says (124B), made the world *non idea quadam duce*. Unlike Basil he says that "in the beginning" may mean "in Christ" as well as the things suggested by Basil (129C, 130A). This thought has previously been noted in connection with Theophilus and Origen. Ambrose is the first to bring into the Hexaemeral tradition the notion that creation took place in the spring.<sup>2</sup> He made use of stories about animals such as are found in Basil, both drawing from the latter and making some additions of his own, to such an extent that in the Middle Ages he sometimes was called the author of the *Physiologus*.

The tendency in the school of Theodorus was in general to lay stress upon less important and even fantastic questions suggested by the biblical text and upon the discussion of the angelic hierarchies, and as a result their work has much less significance than that of the great Cappadocian trio. Nevertheless, Procopius and the Byzantine chroniclers borrowed from Theodoretus and Severianus, though to a less extent than from Basil and Gregory, and these, with occasional citations of Chrysostom and John of Damascus, furnish the later period with most of its material. After Procopius the Hexaemeral writers showed little originality and their work was mere compilation from the sources indicated.

The distinctively new feature of the exegesis of Theodorus and his followers is the contention that the world is not spherical,

<sup>1</sup> G. Gossel (*Quibus ex fontibus Ambrosius in describendo corpore humano hauserit*, Leipzig, 1908) shows that some of Ambrose's material came from Galen and Apuleius (*De dogmate Platonis*). There remains a large amount of matter similar to that discussed in the thesis of S. O. Dickerman, the source of which cannot be definitely determined.

<sup>2</sup> *In Pascha Domini* (128C). Cf. Bede *Hex.* 21B; Honorius *Hex.* 256D; Giraldu Camb. 346; Hrabanus 452B; Conches *De phil. m.* 57A; Peter Comestor 1059C. Conches says that this was the opinion of the Hebrews and the Latins, but that the Egyptians thought that creation came in July. Vergil *Georg.* ii, 336 ff. expresses the idea and is cited by Conches. The notion can be traced to Annianus (cited by Syncellus 597, 10; 1, 6 ff.; 4, 19 ff.) who placed creation on March 25. Peter Comestor tells us that some thought creation came in the fall, because the trees are spoken of as bearing fruit.

but oblong and flat in shape. While this is new to the Hexaemera, it was certainly earlier in origin and was doubtless part of the belief of many of the less educated Christians of the time. Back of it lies the very ancient symbolical interpretation of the description of the Tabernacle in Exod. 25 ff.<sup>1</sup> In a passage of Philo (*De uita Mosis* II, 221 ff., Cohn-Wendland) the description of the Tabernacle is allegorized in this manner.<sup>2</sup> He states that the hangings typify the four elements and the Cherubim symbolize the two hemispheres; he does not, however, give evidence that he believed the earth not to be spherical, but rather the opposite. From this and apparently from other Hebrew sources this symbolism passed into Christian literature.<sup>3</sup> The literal belief that the universe is shaped like the Tabernacle seems to have been based upon this notion inherited from the Hebrews together with the passages in Heb., chap. 8, and 9:23 ff. Among the writers under consideration Cosmas gives the most complete account of this belief.

Cosmas states that the earth is oblong in shape and founded upon its own stability,<sup>4</sup> while the heavens are bent in a lofty vault to meet the earth upon its longer sides; on the shorter sides the enclosure is completed by walls. All this is typified by the table in the Tabernacle, which was two cubits long and one cubit broad; proportionately, according to the reckoning of Cosmas (138), the earth measures 12,000 miles from east to west and 6,000 miles from north to south. The firmament, which was made out of the waters, divides the world, like a house, into two stories (129, 130). The northern and western parts of the earth are very high and the south is correspondingly depressed (133). The sun issues from the east, and passing through the south, ascends northward (134), causing the shadow of night by the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. H. McNeile, *The Book of Exodus* (Westminster Commentaries, London, 1908), xcii.

<sup>2</sup> Hence Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* III, 182, 183, and *Bell. Jud.* V, 212, 217, cited by Cohn-Wendland) drew.

<sup>3</sup> See Cohn-Wendland's citations of Clem. Al. *Strom.* V, 6 and Origen in *Exod. Hom.* XIII, 3, which contain matter apparently taken from Philo together with other material.

<sup>4</sup> With Basil (*supra*, p. 48) he shows that the earth cannot rest upon a material foundation but is upheld by God (128-29).

interposition of the northern mountains.<sup>1</sup> The waved moldings on the table represent the ocean passing around the inhabited world, and the rim outside is the land beyond the ocean where earth and heaven meet and where Paradise is located (135). The inner part of the Tabernacle represents heaven and the outer court the earth (163-64). The remainder of this unscientific theory may be omitted.

A similar view of the shape of the earth was entertained by Diodorus,<sup>2</sup> probably by Theodorus, his pupil,<sup>3</sup> and certainly by Severianus,<sup>4</sup> nor were they by any means alone in believing that the earth is flat.<sup>5</sup> Naturally the same writers disbelieved in the existence of Antipodes,<sup>6</sup> nor it is surprising that Severianus (454) should believe literally Ps. 32:7 (in the LXX), that the clouds are bags, and that God causes rain by pressing them.

Severianus and Theodoretus introduced two other topics that were much discussed in this period, the questions when the angels were created and why Moses did not mention them. It has been seen (*supra*, p. 25) that the writer of Jubilees asked the same question, and that Jubilees directly affected some of the Byzantine writers; the same motive that led to the recognition of the question in Jubilees—to reconcile with Genesis such passages as Job 38:7—operated here as well, as Cosmas shows by citing Job (167).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Eth. Enoch 72:5 (tr. R. H. Charles): "The chariots in which he [*sc.* the sun] ascends are driven by the wind, and the sun disappears from the heaven as he sets and returns through the north in order to reach the east," etc. Cf. Severianus 452 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Against Fatalism ap. Phot. cod.* 223 (p. 220b Bekk.).

<sup>3</sup> Philoponus 132, 7, says that he thought the world was shaped like a cylinder; cf. Philop. 125, 19 ff.

<sup>4</sup> He declares that the earth is not round (452, citing Isa. 40:22; Gen. 19:23; Ps. 18:7; Matt. 24:31); this is followed by Procopius 40B ff. His description of the sun's course, 452 ff., is like that of Cosmas.

<sup>5</sup> Cosmas 330 cites Philo Carpathius in confirmation of his own view, but from the evidence it is difficult to tell upon what grounds. Lactantius *Inst.* III, 24, contests the sphericity of the earth, and Aethicus III, 1 says that the sun returns to the east through the south veiled in a cloud.

<sup>6</sup> Cosmas 120, 157; Procopius 69B; Lactantius *loc. cit.*; Augustine *DCD* XVI, 9; Beda *De temporum ratione* XXXIV; Dreyer, *Planetary Systems*, Cambridge, 1906, chap. X (citations).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also Bas. Seleuc. 32A (quoting Job); Zonaras 13, 3 (citing Jubilees); Milton, *P.L.* VII, 252: "Thus was the first day even and morn; Nor passed uncelebrated nor unsung By the celestial quires."

Basil, followed by many of the Fathers, believed that the angels existed before the universe; Theodorus, with Procopius, Theodoretus and Cosmas, held that they were made with the world and were a part of it (*supra*, p. 45). Moses did not mention them, however, as Severianus (431) says, because in that case the Israelites, fresh from heathen Egypt, might have worshiped them; and this they would have been the more likely to do, Theodoretus says (80A, quoted by Glyca, 145 ed. Bekk.), since they actually did bow down to images of animals.<sup>1</sup> Other topics concerning the angels are discussed—e.g., the angels as guardians;<sup>2</sup> the Dionysian orders;<sup>3</sup> the notion that God's commands in Genesis were issued for the instruction of the angels.<sup>4</sup> Theodorus and Cosmas thought that the angels were circumscribed in space<sup>5</sup> and that they moved the stars.<sup>6</sup>

In the details of interpretation most of the writers agreed with Basil upon many points,<sup>7</sup> though in a few they held different views<sup>8</sup> or even actively opposed him (*supra*, pp. 45, 48).

<sup>1</sup> Iobius *ap.* Phot. *cod.* 222 also discusses the question; he adds the explanation that Moses wrote only for the direct instruction of men in this material world and that the mention of the angels was not necessary for his purpose.

<sup>2</sup> Cosmas 157; Theod. of Mopsuestia *Com. in Zach.* 521B; Philop. 21, 3; 252, 23; 255, 20; 262, 17; Glyca 165B.

<sup>3</sup> Glyca 161B ff.

<sup>4</sup> Theodoretus I, 9; Procopius 48D.

<sup>5</sup> Theodorus *ap.* Philop. 34, 7 (who dissents); Cosmas 157.

<sup>6</sup> Theodorus *ap.* Philop. 28, 20; Cosmas 150.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. notes on Basil *supra*. Some of the points of agreement are: the discussion of the meanings of beginning; the explanation of ἀόρατος in Gen. 1:2 as referring to the covering of the earth with water; that the darkness (*ibid.*) comes from the interposition of heaven, and that darkness is not an evil principle, but the absence of light; the theory of the first-made light; the metaphor of a brooding bird as applied to the spirit in Gen. 1:2; the cooling function of the upper waters; the notion that God's commands make the water fluid, created the basin of the sea, and gave reproductive powers to plants and animals; that poisonous herbs are useful as food to certain birds and animals; the polemic against astrology; the claim that "Let us make" implies the Trinity.

<sup>8</sup> As in the West, they tended to call the firmament a hard substance made out of the waters; *infra*, p. 81. Some held that the spirit in Gen. 1:2 was merely air; Theodoretus I, 8; Procopius 45C; Gennadius 1628B; Severianus 436; Diodorus 1563C; cf. Basil 44A, Philoponus 13, 15; Anastasius 869D. There was opposition to Basil's view of II Cor. 12:2 that Paul was snatched up to the upper heaven where God dwells. Cosmas 276 says that Paul was taken to the firmament, and Procopius 68B says that he went to Paradise, i.e., on the earth.

Most of them believed, like Basil, that "heaven and earth" in Gen. 1:1 included all the elements and that nothing was made *ex nihilo* after the first day.<sup>1</sup> The topic of the pattern world of ideas is ignored. The waters above the firmament are said to reflect downward the light of the luminaries and to prevent its dissolution upward,<sup>2</sup> and to prevent the melting of the firmament.<sup>3</sup> Other topics introduced in the later commentaries are some of them questions based on the scriptural phraseology—why God did not bless the stars (Severianus 460) or the plants (Theodorus I, 17), and why he did bless the seventh day (*ibid.* I, 21); some are pedantic discussions of minutiae—the determination of the exact phase of the moon at its creation (Severianus 449), and the question whether day or night came first in the days of creation (Procopius 53A ff.). These topics often enter the realm of the fantastic.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Severianus 433; Procopius 40A; Cosmas 167 says that God made light and the human soul out of nothing after the first day and in the presence of the angels.

<sup>2</sup> Severianus 450; Cosmas 322 ff.; Procopius 72D.

<sup>3</sup> Cosmas *loc. cit.*; Procopius 72C.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., the introduction of etymologies; the statement that the Hebrew words for "man" and "fire" are the same and discussion of the symbolism of the fact (Severianus 473; Glyca 157D); the acrostic on the name of Adam (*supra*, p. 27).

## CHAPTER VI

### AUGUSTINE

Augustine, bishop of Hippo, was the second of the great innovators of the Hexaemeral tradition and the chief authority of the mediaeval Latin writers on creation.<sup>1</sup> He produced an interpretation unique in its self-consistency, depending upon the fundamental principles of a transcendent God, an eternal ideal world, and a systematic allegorical explanation of the six days as something other than natural days. With him the physical aspect of creation is secondary to the metaphysical and theistic; and the result is that despite its ingenuity and philosophical consistency his exegesis as such deserves the criticism passed upon it by Suarez: "uerisimile non est Deum inspirasse Moysi, ut historiam de creatione mundi ad fidem totius populi ideo necessariam per nomina dierum explicaret quorum significatio uix inueniri et difficillime ab aliquo credi posset" (*Tract. de op. sex dierum* I, 11, 42).

The metaphysical nature of Augustine's works on Genesis follows directly as the result of his acquaintance with Plato,<sup>2</sup> and,

<sup>1</sup> Of his works on Genesis, *De Genesi ad Litteram* (cited as *Lit.*) is the most important and exercised the most influence on the Hexaemera. The passages in the *Confessiones* (XI ff.) dealing with the transcendence of God and the interpretation of Gen. 1:1-2 are very important. The *Imperfectus Liber* and the *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* were earlier than the above, and were largely superseded by them. *De Ciuitate Dei* contains some remarks on the interpretation of Genesis. For discussions of the philosophy of Augustine, see Nourisson, *La philosophie de St. Augustin*, 1866; Storz, *Die Philosophie des hl. Augustinus*, Freiburg, 1882; G. Loesche, *De Augustino Plotinizante*, Jena, 1880; L. Grandgeorge, *Saint Augustin et le néo-Platonisme*, Paris, 1896.

<sup>2</sup> According to Saisset, he knew the *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo*, *Republic*, *Gorgias*, and *Timaeus*, to which Nourisson (II, 103, 107) adds the *Symposium*. The number of citations of the *Timaeus* show that he knew that dialogue best. He cites with approval *Tim.* 31B and 32B as agreeing with Gen. 1:1, *DCD* VIII, 11; and *ibid.* XI, 21 he says that neither in Genesis nor in *Tim.* 37C does the joy of the creator imply that he acquired new information. On the other hand he will not admit that the angels (the Platonic gods) created the mortal parts of man (*DCD* XII, 25, 27; *Tim.* 41B ff.). For his conclusion on the subject of Plato's acquaintance with the Bible, *supra*, p. 12. Augustine probably knew Plato only in translation; he was not a good Greek scholar and seems not to have used Greek texts to any extent (see S. Angus, *The Sources of the First Ten Books of Augustine's "De Ciuitate Dei,"* Princeton, 1906, pp. 240-42).

even more, the neo-Platonists (*supra*, pp. 19 ff.). His knowledge of Aristotle was scant.

It has been shown above (p. 20) that Augustine's conception of God was to a certain extent neo-Platonic, in that he represents the creator as out of time and space in a state of transcendent tranquillity, working in and through the Word, wherein the ideas or forms of all things were eternally present as the thoughts of God.<sup>1</sup>

With this hypothesis of an eternal, unchangeable God, whose purposes and ideas are ever fixed, Augustine is forced to meet certain fundamental difficulties. In the first place, how can God, who does not change or move in either time or place, deal with the material world? This difficulty he solves, or evades, by a series of subordinations. The two modes of existence, exclusive of deity, are *corporalis* and *spiritualis*, the former moving in both time and space, the latter only in time (*Lit.* VIII, 20, 39); and of the latter some creatures have free will and some do not. God, moving in neither time nor space, communicates inwardly, in a manner consistent with his own nature, with the spiritual creatures which have free wills, and the lower natures are subject to them, while all things are primarily subject to God (*ibid.* 23, 44; 25, 47).<sup>2</sup>

The second question, stated in *Conf.* XI, 10, is a dilemma—how can the purpose to create arise in God, in consistency with his immutability? and if the purpose to create was eternally with God, is not creation coeternal with God? Augustine admits that the things which were created “in the beginning,” which he takes to mean “in the Word or Wisdom,” are eternal in the sense that they precede all in time (*Conf.* XII, 15, 20); still the eternity of God is before them<sup>3</sup> preceding creation not by passing time but by unmoving eternity.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* IV, 24, 41: . . . in ipso uerbo . . . in quo sunt omnium, etiam quae temporaliter facta sunt, aeternae rationes, etc.; *ibid.* V, 15: haec omnia, priusquam fierent, erant in notitia facientis, et utique ibi meliora, ubi ueriora, ubi aeterna et immutabilia. Storz 193 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Conf.* XII, 15, 20: etsi non inuenimus tempus ante illam, quia et creaturam temporis antecedit, quae prior omnium creata est, ante illam tamen est ipsius creatoris aeternitas, a quo facta sumpsit exordium, quamuis non temporis quia nondum erat tempus, ipsius tamen conditionis suae.

<sup>4</sup> *DCD* XII, 16: quapropter si deus semper dominus fuit, semper habuit creaturam suo dominatui seruientem . . . erat quippe ante illam, quamuis nullo tempore sine illa, non eam spatio transcurrente sed manente perpetuitate praecedens.

This answer depends upon the principle of God's transcendence, but the questions which were sometimes asked, what God did before creation, and why creation came so late, could be answered by the simple distinction of time and eternity (*supra*, p. 7). If there was no time before creation, how can we ask what God did then? There was no "then," if there was no time.<sup>1</sup> The question why creation came so late is answered by saying that if it had come any earlier, infinite time would still have preceded it, and finally, that time is existent not *per se* but only relatively to creation and by God's will (*DCD* XI, 4-6; cf. *Conf.* VII, 5, 15 and XI, 13).<sup>2</sup>

The Augustinian doctrines founded on the transcendence of God had great influence on the scholars of the Middle Ages, though none perhaps was as consistent throughout as Augustine. They quote him with reference to God's manner of working, and employ similarly the principle of transcendence to show that creation is not coeternal with God even though he eternally willed to create.<sup>3</sup>

Augustine with Plato says that God's reason for creating was his goodness,<sup>4</sup> or in the last analysis his will, and there is nothing higher than God's will.<sup>5</sup> Being self-sufficient, he did not need to create.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Conf.* XI, 13; *ibid.* 12 he says that he will not make the jocular answer that God was making a hell for those that seek into mysteries (referred to by DuBartas, Sylvester 3). Cf. also *DCD* XI, 5; *Man.* I, 3, and the reminiscence in Hugo of Amiens 11; Grandgeorge 79 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The question was proposed by Parmenides fr. 8, 9-10, Diels, and Lucretius v, 168-69; cf. Bruno 156B; Arnold of Chartres 1515D ff.; Milton *P.L.* VII, 90: "What cause moved the creator, in his holy rest Through all eternity, so late to build In chaos?"

<sup>3</sup> Hugo of Amiens 1251C ff., in answer to the questions what God did before creation and how a new desire can arise in him, says: *ea ipsa non tempore sed aeternitate praecedit* (sc. deus), and again, *uerba nostra . . . non actionem uel passionem, non quamlibet uarietatem ponunt in ipsam deitatem*. Honorius, *Elucid.* 1112B: *unde deus dicitur non esse antiquior sua creatione tempore sed dignitate*. Cf. Angelomus 114A; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 8; Bruno 156B. Similar is the thought of Peter Lombard II, 1, 2, that when we say God makes anything we understand *non aliquem in operando motum illi inesse . . . sed eius sempiternae uoluntatis nouum . . . effectum*; and Albertus Magnus, IV, 73, 3: *ab aeterno dixit ut fiat, non ab aeterno, sed tunc quando incepit*. This is borrowed by Raleigh, Pref. xlviii.

<sup>4</sup> *DCD* XI, 21 (citing *Tim.* 29E); *Lit.* I, 5, 11; Storz 192.

<sup>5</sup> *Man.* I, 2, 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Lit.* I, 5, 11; the neo-Platonists held that God, being self-sufficient, did not need to create, but did so as a natural and necessary act.

In treating of the creative work of God, Augustine rejects the ordinary belief that the world was created in six natural days (*Lit.* IV, 18, 33) and makes the fundamental assumption that it was one act, in accordance with Gen. 2:4 (*Lit.* V, 3, 5). In the beginning, that is, in Wisdom and before time, God made out of nothing (*Man.* I, 6) heaven and earth, respectively the angels and matter wholly without form.<sup>1</sup> Formless matter is prior in origin only, and not by an interval of time, to formed matter, and therefore never existed as such in this world.<sup>2</sup> The relation of the two is illustrated by the example of sound and song or speech; sound is not made first and then formed into speech, but is produced already formed.<sup>3</sup> The universe thus made by God had in itself, just as the seed potentially contains the tree, not only heaven, earth, and the *maxima mundi membra*, but also whatever these have produced, before they arose in periods of time into the form wherein they now exist (*Lit.* V, 23, 45). This was brought about by the fact that in the beginning God placed forms (*rationes*) in the universe which later produce things in their genera as we know them.<sup>4</sup> The likeness of this theory to that of the seminal logoi has been noticed above (p. 16), and it will be observed that Augustine's *rationes* are of a dynamic character. He can therefore name four modes of existence—in the Word, where things are eternal, not made; in the elements of the world, wherein all things were made at once; in things which were created in accordance

<sup>1</sup> *Conf.* XII, 12, 15: *duo reperio quae fecisti carentia temporibus, cum tibi neutrum coaeternum sit; unum, quod ita formatum est ut sine ullo defectu contemplationis, sine ullo intervallo mutationis, quamvis mutabile, tamen non mutatum aeternitate atque incommutabilitate perfruatur; alterum, quod ita informe erat ut ex qua forma in quam formam vel motionis vel stationis mutaretur, quo tempori subderetur, non haberet.*

<sup>2</sup> *Conf.* XII, 29, 40: *hoc exemplo qui potest intellegat materiam rerum primo factam et appellatam caelum et terram, quia inde facta sunt caelum et terra, nec tempore primo factam, quia formae rerum exserunt tempora, illa autem erat informis iamque in temporibus simul animaduvertitur, nec tamen de illa narrari aliquid potest, nisi uelut tempore prior sit, etc.* Storz 220. For the similar neo-Platonic view cf. Plot. *Enn.* IV, 3, 9 (*supra*, p. 16, n. 5). Raleigh I, 1, 4 cites Augustine's view.

<sup>3</sup> *Conf. loc. cit.*; *Lit.* I, 15, 29; the figure is imitated in the Middle Ages; cf. Angelomus 114B.

<sup>4</sup> *Lit.* IV, 33: *... deus condidit omnia, quoniam per illam sunt condita; ut hoc quod nunc uidemus temporalibus intervalis ea moueri ad peragenda quae suo cuique generi competunt, ex illis insitis rationibus ueniat, tamquam seminaliter sparsit deus in ictu condendi. . . .*" Storz 200.

with these causes, not at once, but each in its own time; and finally potential existence in seeds (*Lit.* VI, 10).

The rejection of the ordinary view that the six days are real periods of time caused Augustine to devise the theory outlined above (pp. 21 f.), aside from which interpretation the days of creation have no meaning to him. There are not six different days, but the first day is repeated—that is, the process of action of the first day is repeated, and the succession of events in the Genesis narrative is the succession as presented to the knowledge of the angels and not a temporal series of separate creations (*Lit.* IV, 35, 56); the story of creation is told in the scriptural form for the benefit of those who would not be able to understand the true account (*ibid.* IV, 33, 52; V, 3, 6).<sup>1</sup>

On the remaining points of interpretation Augustine is not so far removed from the other writers. The first-made chaos contained all the elements.<sup>2</sup> The explanation of Gen. 1:2 (cf. *Man.* I, 3; *Lib. imp.* 4, 11) is much like Basil's, and like Basil (*Hex.* 40C) he explained the darkness as absence of light, and not, as the Manichaeans claimed, an entity (*Man.* I, 4; *Conf.* XII, 3). The waters over which the spirit of God moved are chaotic matter, over which God's mind, like that of an artisan planning his work, moved, but not in a spatial sense.<sup>3</sup> Augustine preferred to understand "light" in Gen. 1:3 in the special sense that has been mentioned, that is, as referring to the angels; but he allows that the view that it is ordinary light may be correct. In case it is spiritual light, the division of light and darkness (Gen. 1:4) is the division

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Milton *P.L.* VII, 176: "Immediate are the acts of God, more swift Than time or motion, but to human ears Cannot without process of speech be told." Peter Lombard II, 15, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Lit.* III, 3, 5. He neither explains the interchange of the elements nor denies that they interchange, although he says that both views are held (*ibid.* III, 3, 4). Most of the mediaeval commentators held that "earth" in Gen. 1:1 meant the four elements.

<sup>3</sup> *Man.* I, 5 and 7; *Lib. imp.* 4, 16; *Lit.* I, 5, 11. This was a very famous comparison; reminiscences occur in Bede *Hex.* 16A; Remi 55B; Neckam I, 2; Hugo of St. Victor 36A; Hrabanus 447A; Strabus 70B; Angelomus 116A; Eucherius, *Instruct.* 67, 18 (Wotke); Bruno 148C; Peter Comestor 1057A. In *Lit.* I, 18, 36 the version *fovebat* for *superferebatur* is mentioned, as in Basil (*supra*, p. 48). Cf. also *Lib. imp.* 4, 17 (p. 9, n. 1, *supra*).

of things formed and unformed or the division of the good from the bad angels.<sup>1</sup> The expression "God saw that it was good" does not imply, as the Manichaeans thought, that God acquired knowledge, but simply indicates his satisfaction (*Man.* I, 8; *Lib. imp.* 5, 22; *Lit.* I, 8, 14). This later was a common topic of the Hexaemera. Throughout his Hexaemeral works, Augustine expresses great impatience with physical science and a feeling that it is useless to discuss such questions. He therefore refrains from discussing the form of the heavens, agreeing however with Basil that Isa. 40:22 and Ps. 103:2 describe it sufficiently, and that they may be taken to mean that the heavens are spherical (*Lit.* II, 9, 20-21).

The firmament is so called not because it stands still but because of its firmness, and because it forms an impassable boundary between the waters (*Lit.* II, 10, 23); and with regard to the upper waters Augustine made the often quoted statement: "quoquo modo autem et qualeslibet aquae ibi sint, esse ibi eas minime dubitemus; maior est quippe scripturae huius auctoritas quam omnis humani ingenii capacitas" (*Lit.* II, 5, 9).<sup>2</sup> The suggestion that the upper waters might exist in the form of vapor also met with favor.<sup>3</sup> With Basil, Augustine declared that the upper waters act as a cooling agent against the heat of the fires of heaven (*Lit.* II, 5, 9).

Gen. 1:8-9 are taken to mean that then the earth and water received their present form, being taken out of the confused mass of elements (*Man.* I, 12; *Lib. imp.* 10), and in *Lit.* I, 12, 26 the suggestion is made that previously the water may have been less

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.* I, 17, 34; *DCD* XI, 19. These views were adopted by mediaeval scholars; the former by Beda *Com.* 194B; Angelomus 117; the latter by pseudo-Eucherius 896D; Angelomus 118A; Peter Lombard II, 5, 2; 13, 2; Bandinus II, 13; Neckam I, 3; Rupert of Deutz I, 10; cf. Peter Comestor 1057C.

<sup>2</sup> Pseudo-Eucherius 897C; Beda *Com.* 194D, *Hex.* 19A; Hrabanus 450A; Abelard 743D; Angelomus 119A; Rupert of Deutz 220B; Cl. Marius Victor I, 77 ff.: *plus sit tibi credere semper Posse deum quicquid fieri non posse putatur* (perhaps with reference to Augustine).

<sup>3</sup> *Lit.* II, 4, 8; Hugo of St. Victor 35A; Honorius *De im. m.* I, 138; *Hex.* 256B; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 20; *Spec. nat.* I, 28; Peter Comestor 1058C; cf. pseudo-Eucherius *loc. cit.* and Angelomus 118D.

dense and at this time became thickened. This theory was worked out more thoroughly by Beda and his followers.

With regard to the plants, Augustine says that the existence of harmful and poisonous herbs is due to man's sin and not to their creation as such by God (*Man.* I, 13; *Lit.* III, 18, 28; *supra*, p. 5). In connection with the discussion of the stars, he introduces several topics which have been met with before—the importance of the sun and moon (*Lib. imp.* 13, 42); the varying length of the year of several of the planets, and the "great year" of Plato (*ibid.* 13, 38), and the polemic against astrology (*Lit.* II, 17, 35; cf. *supra*, p. 52). He does not return a definite answer to the question whether spirits govern and infuse the stars (*Lit.* II, 18, 38; *supra*, p. 32).

The subject of the creation of the birds and fish gives rise to the topic already seen in Philo and Basil that both the fish and the birds swim (*supra*, p. 32, n. 3), and in addition, explaining why the birds were created out of the water, Augustine shows that they are able to fly only in the humid air which is closely akin to water (*Man.* I, 15; *Lib. imp.* 14, 44; *Lit.* III, 1, 1).<sup>1</sup> He does not, like Basil and Ambrose, introduce a mass of detail concerning the life of the birds and beasts, illustrative of God's providence in their creation, nor are such narratives a part of the Hexaemera which show Augustinian influence. A topic introduced by him is the theory that animal life arising from the decay of the bodies of other animals is not a new creation, but is the result of a natural force created at first.<sup>2</sup>

Man's likeness to God lies in his mental powers and is not external, and it is because of this excellence that his creation is given separate treatment in Genesis (*Lib. imp.* 16, 55; *Man.* I, 17; *Lit.* III, 20, 30). For man, as for the angels, creation and formation is the recognition of God's Word, and because man is a rational creature both the formulas *et sic est factum* and *et fecit deus* are omitted; for in accordance with Augustine's explanation, they imply that an irrational thing is first made in the Word and recog-

<sup>1</sup> Reminiscences occur in Hrabanus 456B; Angelomus 121B; Isid. *De ord. creat.* VII, 3-4; Erigena 740A; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 26; Peter Comestor 1061C.

<sup>2</sup> *Lit.* III, 14, 23; cf. Peter Lombard II, 15, 4.

nized by the angels, and then is made in its own nature (*Lit.* III, 20, 31-32). The first account of man's creation, in Gen. 1, refers to his invisible, potential, and causal creation (*Lit.* VI, 6, 10), the *ratio creandi hominis, non actio creati* (*ibid.* 9, 16). God did not fashion Adam with hands like ours; this is a puerile notion (*ibid.* 12, 20). It is likely that at the time of his creation Adam was fully developed (*ibid.* 18),<sup>1</sup> and inasmuch as provision was made for his food (*ibid.* 21), his body then formed was immortal, not in the sense *non posse mori*, but in the sense *posse non mori*.<sup>2</sup> The ideas that man lost his power over the beasts by his sin (*supra*, p. 5) and that man in contrast with the beasts stands erect (*supra*, p. 10) are topics of the Hexaemera before Augustine. Man's soul is incorporeal and immortal, but it is not drawn from the divine nature, but is made out of nothing.<sup>3</sup> As to the time when it was created, Augustine will not make any definite assertion, but it appears to him most probable that the human soul and the *ratio causalis* from which the body developed at the proper time were created when God made all things together, and were joined when God breathed on Adam's face (*Lit.* VII, 24, 35). Like Basil, Augustine concluded from the use of the plural in "Let us make" that the Trinity is meant (*supra*, p. 52).

The general character of Augustine's conception of the rest of God has already been noted. It is the timeless tranquillity of the creator; but explanation had to be made of the statement in John 5:17, that God works even now. Augustine's answer, that God ceased to create new genera, but continues to sustain the world, became the classic solution of the difficulty.<sup>4</sup> He adds a list of things symbolized by the rest of God—man's rest in God, man's rest after his good works, the rest of Christ in the tomb,

<sup>1</sup> So the mediaeval writers asserted, Beda *Com.* 205C; Honorius *Hex.* 258C; Remi 56B; Peter Lombard II, 17, 4; Bandinus II, 17; Peter Comestor 1066D.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 25. Citations of this are found in Beda *Hex.* 32B, *Com.* 206A; Angelomus 124A; Peter Comestor 1064C.

<sup>3</sup> *Lit.* VII, 28, 43; cf. Beda *Hex.* 43B, *Com.* 206A; Peter Comestor 1066C; Peter Lombard II, 17, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Lit.* IV, 12, 22; cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.* I, 30; Eugenius Toletanus, *Monosticha*; pseudo-Eucherius 901D; Beda *Hex.* 34D, 36A; *Com.* 202D; Angelomus 125B; Thierry of Chartres 57; Hrabanus 465A; Peter Lombard II, 15, 6; Bandinus II, 15; Rupert of Deutz 259A; Hildebert 1218A; Alcuin *fr. in Gen.* 1636; Glyca 29B; Cl. Marius Victor I, 171; Peter Comestor 1065A; Ralceigh I, 2, 7; Abelard 769D.

and the Jewish Sabbath.<sup>1</sup> Augustine is also the first to make use of the topic of the seven ages of the world, which he connects by elaborate analogies to the days of creation and the seven ages of man (*Man.* I, 23), a topic which was extremely popular among his followers.<sup>2</sup> Ambrose, following Philo, had already spoken of the seven ages of man, in connection with the number seven, and Augustine apparently combined material from these sources with the old Hebrew notion of the world-week (*supra*, p. 27).

<sup>1</sup> *Man.* I, 22; *Lit.* IV, 11; cf. Cl. Marius Victor I, 178 ff. and Eugenius Toletanus, *Monosticha*.

<sup>2</sup> Of the followers of Augustine, Abelard 771D, and Honorius *De im. m.* II, 75, give the ages of the world in connection with those of man; pseudo-Eucherius 903B, Beda *Hex.* 36B and *Com.* 203, Honorius *Hex.* 259C, and Bruno 160A connect them with the days of creation. The terms employed vary somewhat, but are similar to those of Augustine. Cf. also *DCD* XXII, 30, 5. For the seven ages of man, see Philo 37, 10 ff.; Ambrose *Ep.* 44, 10; Anast. Sin. 949C; Eugenius Toletanus; Victorinus Petauionensis 313A.

## CHAPTER VII

### ERIGENA TO THE RENAISSANCE

The period from 430 A.D., the date of the death of Augustine, until the Renaissance produced a great number of Hexaemera. Most of the poetical versions of the Genesis story were written soon before or after 430, but their interest does not fall in this field because in general they do not attempt to comment upon the creation story.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the most important single work of this period is the epoch-making *De divisione naturae* of Johannes Scotus Erigena, which contains an interpretation of the Hexaemeron highly interesting in itself, but of a heterodox character that diminished its influence. Neo-Platonism, which came to him through the pseudo-Dionysius, is the dominating influence in Erigena, but his citations show that he was also familiar with Basil, Ambrose, Gregory, Origen, Maximus Confessor, and Augustine, and with the *Timaeus* probably in the version of Chalcidius.

The philosophy of Erigena centers in the notion that everything, in so far as it exists, exists in God, and his interpretation of the six days' work is a reconciliation of the Scriptures with his own theory that the divine goodness proceeds from itself first into the ideal types, second into the larger subdivisions of corporeal things, and third into individual things (III, 19, 681BC; 27, 700C ff.).

<sup>1</sup> The poems of Cl. Marius Victor and Eugenius Toletanus are exceptions. The former gives a description of the Trinity in theological terms; it recognizes, and attempts to reconcile, the two accounts of creation in Genesis (ll. 15-21), argues against the eternity of matter (22-47), says that the upper waters protect us against the fires of heaven (66 ff.), and in discussing the two accounts of the creation of man gives evidence that the author was familiar with the speculation on this matter, such, e.g., as is found in Augustine *Lit.* Cf. also I, 171 ff., 178 ff. with Aug. *Lit.* IV, 12, 22, 11, 21. The *Monosticha* of Eugenius, which supplements the poem of Dracontius, is thoroughly Augustinian; cf. l. 8: *qui semper requietus agit faciensque quiescit* with Augustine's doctrine of God's rest. Eugenius also derives from Augustine a list of things symbolized by the seventh day.

Erigena conceives of God as a trinity. He is called *essentia*, but the term is not correct; for he is *ὑπερούσιος, ὑπεράγαθος, ὑπεραληθής, ὑπεραιώνιος, ὑπέρσοφος* (I, 5, 459D); and after a discussion of the categories Erigena concludes that God is above them all (*ibid.* 463B; I, 72, 518A ff.). God's action therefore is thus defined: "cum ergo audimus deum omnia facere, nil aliud debemus intellegere, quam deum in omnibus esse, hoc est, essentiam omnium subsistere. ipse enim solus per se uere est, et omne, quod uere in his, quae sunt, dicitur esse, ipse solus est. nihil enim eorum, quae sunt, per se ipsum uere est. quodcumque autem in eo uere intellegitur, participatione ipsius unius qui solus per se ipsum uere est accipit" (I, 17, 518A).

The second of the classes of things, after God, is the created creating, that which the Greeks called the *πρωτότυπα, θεία θελήματα* and *ἰδέαι* (II, 1-2), usually termed by Erigena *causae primordiales*. They are Platonic ideas, but as in Philo and the neo-Platonists, they are thoughts of God, perfect and immutable (II, 15, 547A).

The old difficulty of the Hexaemera now arises before Erigena—if God is immutable, how can he be moved at any time to create? and on the other hand, how can creation be coeternal with him? Erigena's answers bear some traces of having received suggestions from Augustine, with whom they may be compared; briefly they are as follows. God is always the cause, and it is therefore not accidental for him to create the forms; the latter are eternal in their cause, the Word, but since they are created by the Deity, and that which is created is never coeternal with that which creates, they are not coeternal with God. They are thus both created and eternal (II, 8, 9; 21, 561C; III, 11, 656C). Existing in his Word, the forms are the will of God and God is never without his will (III, 17). Finally, we must understand that the creator and the created are not two different things, but the same thing; whatever is, even matter itself, gets its being from God (III, 17).

Erigena then does not with the other Christian writers assert that God created matter out of nothing except in a special sense. The divine goodness, which is a negation of being because it is above being, is "nothing." Creation is the procession of the divine goodness from the negation of being to its affirmation,

from itself into itself, from formlessness into formation; for the divine wisdom is not subject to any superior form, but is itself the form of forms.<sup>1</sup> Thus all things are *theophaniae*.

In accordance with these principles Erigena interprets the story of creation in Genesis. "In the beginning" is "in the Son" (III, 18). "Heaven" refers to the primordial causes of intelligible and celestial beings, and "earth" to those of the corporeal world (II, 15). Before these things came forth into forms and species, and while they lie concealed in the Word, they are incomprehensible, and by means of this thought Erigena interprets Gen. 1:2 (III, 24). The earth (i.e., the causes of corporeal things) is unformed and void before proceeding in time and space into the forms of corporeal things, and the causes of intelligible things are called "abyss" and said to be covered with darkness because they are perceived by no other intellect other than that in which they were formed (II, 16-17). The spirit of God is said to be borne over the abyss because it alone is superior to the causes of intelligible things and is their source (II, 19).

Erigena agrees with Augustine that all things were created at once and that the division into six days is not a temporal but a logical distinction. Formlessness and formation do not succeed each other temporally, but *naturali quadam praeceptione et sequentia* (III, 9), and to illustrate this he uses the same figure as Augustine, that of the voice and words (III, 27; *supra*, p. 67). Creation took place in the number six because of the perfection of six (III, 11; III, 27).

After setting forth the interpretations of Gen. 1:3 offered by the schools of Augustine and Basil, Erigena says that "Let there

<sup>1</sup> III, 19, 681C ff.: *diuina igitur bonitas, quae propterea nihilum dicitur, quoniam ultra omnia quae sunt et quae non sunt in nulla essentia inuenitur, ex negatione omnium essentiarum in affirmationem totius uniuersitatis essentiae a se ipsa in se ipsam descendit, ueluti ex nihilo in aliquid, ex inessentialitate in essentialitatem, ex informitate in formas innumerabiles et species. prima siquidem ipsius progressio in primordiales causas, in quibus fit, ueluti informis quaedam materia a scriptura dicitur; materia quidem, quia initium est essentiae rerum, informis uero, quia informitati diuinæ sapientiae proxima est. diuina autem sapientia informis recte dicitur quia ad nullam formam superiorem se ad formationem suam conuertitur, est enim omnium formarum infinitum exemplar, et dum descendit in diuersas uisibilem et inuisibilem formas ad se ipsam ueluti ad formationem suam respicit.*

be light" refers to the procession of the causes into their effects, their existence in the Word being comparable to darkness and their procession into their effects like the light (III, 24-25). The term "one day" is used instead of "first" because the causes and effects are really one, being different aspects of the same thing (III, 25).

He interprets the upper waters as the *spirituales omnium uisibilium rationes* (III, 26); the lower waters are the individual things that arise and pass away in the lower world, and the firmament between the two is the mediary, the simple elements (*ibid.*). The words "let there be light" and similar commands refer to the special creation of the causes generally mentioned in Gen. 1:1, while *et facta est lux, et fecit deus firmamentum* or *et factum est ita* denote the procession of the causes into their effects (III, 27). He says that Basil's is the accepted interpretation of the verse regarding the making of the land and the sea, but to him the sea typifies the mutability of matter endowed with quality and subject to generation and decay, while the dry land signifies the *formae substantiales* which suffer no change, and by participation in which individuals and species are made, i.e., the class forms, like "man" (III, 27).

Gen. 1:11-12 mean that the *uis seminalis* of the herbs and trees, causally created in the *rationes substantiarum*, came forth into species, and similarly the creation of the luminaries as given in Genesis refers to the procession from cause to form (III, 32). There is a long digression on the music of the spheres and the use of the stars as signs. Speaking of the production from the waters, Erigena allows that there is life, *anima*, in the plants, but not *uiuens anima* as in the animals (728A ff.). The creation of the animals in species shows that the art of dialectic is not the invention of men but was placed in the very nature of things by God (IV, 4).

Man was created with the other animals (IV, 5) but was preferred above them by being made in the image of God; to inquire why he was made an animal and at the same time in God's image is too presumptuous (IV, 7). Man typifies the whole universe, having intellect with the angels and in his body all the parts of the corporeal world; so again he shows the nature of God (IV, 5 ff.). However, real human nature, as created by God, is not that which

is subject to the senses and to the distinction of sex; it was the true image of God; but man by his own will deserted this condition and became like the animals (760D ff.).

By the rest of God on the seventh day is meant the intelligible Sabbath, when all sensible things shall rest in the intelligible, all intelligible things in their causes, and the causes in the cause of causes, God (V, 37, 991C).

As for the other Hexaemera of this period, their first characteristic is eclecticism, the citation, comparison, and discussion of previously expressed opinions, rather than the formation of original views. Furthermore, although Augustine was the great authority from whom all drew and to whom was accorded universal respect, there was a constantly growing tendency to eliminate the abstraction of Augustinianism, and to present a more concrete exegesis, representing the successive creations as the steps in a physical process. Some of the earlier Hexaemera, for example those of the pseudo-Eucherius, Angelomus, and the *Commentary* of Bede, are distinctly Augustinian; but there grew up a dissatisfaction, the germ of which is found in the *Hexaemeron* of Bede, with the Augustinian doctrines of the creation of all things at once and the allegorical interpretation of the six days.

In keeping with the above is the third distinguishing tendency of the Hexaemera of this period, increased interest in more minute and sometimes entirely irrelevant questions suggested by the phraseology of the Scriptures, or by science, pseudo-science, theology, angelology, demonology, and the like, in the discussion of which the authors display more pedantry and credulity than even their predecessors of antiquity.

These characteristics are perhaps partially due to the fact that Greek philosophy and especially Plato were unknown to the mediaeval writers except through the medium of translation or quotation. Their sources were the better known Fathers—Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, and Jerome; and without the direct influence of the Greeks they were unable to give the atmosphere of idealism which seems never to have been achieved in this form of literature unless the writers came under the influence of Plato's cosmology. The direct influence of the Greek philosophers in the

early part of this period was inconsiderable, except in the case of Aristotle in the Middle Ages; and Platonism came down chiefly through Macrobius, Apuleius, Boethius, Chalcidius, and St. Augustine. A few stock references to Plato were made (*supra*, p. 11, n. 2).

The best index of the prevailing type of interpretation at this period is a comparison of their doctrines with those of Augustine on questions where a difference of opinion arose. The latter had stated that in Gen. 1:1 "heaven" meant the angels and "earth" the chaos of matter; that all things were created, form and matter together, in the beginning of time; and that the six days of creation were in reality the six stages in which the creation was displayed to the angels. In this manner the first chapter of Genesis was reconciled with Gen. 2:4, "in the day that the Lord God made the earth and the heavens." This explanation was seldom accepted in its entirety,<sup>1</sup> although it is frequently mentioned,<sup>2</sup> and portions of it were adopted in somewhat modified form.<sup>3</sup> But in general the commentators, headed by Beda, preferred to understand the six days to be real days,<sup>4</sup> explaining Gen. 2:4 by asserting that in the latter passage *dies* means "space of time," not "day",<sup>5</sup> and that all things were created at once in the sense that the first heaven and earth contained the substance of all things, i.e., matter, which with Augustine they would not admit was made wholly without form, and which was

<sup>1</sup> Pseudo-Eucherius 897A ff. adopts Augustine's explanation of "evening" and "morning," and Abelard 745C ff. says the days are not those which we measure; they are to be understood as the distinction of the works; "evening" is the conception in God's mind, "morning" its performance and completion.

<sup>2</sup> Hugo of St. Victor 33B; Honorius *Hex.* 260A ff.; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. nat.* II, 15 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Beda *Com.* 193D and *passim*, though thinking of the days as real, is reminiscent of Augustine. It is frequently stated that "evening" is the end of one work and "morning" the beginning of the next; Honorius *Eluc.* 1113B; Angelomus 118C; Remi 56A; Augustine *Lit.* IV, 18, 32 is the source. The angels are identified with the light: Neckam I, 3; Honorius *Eluc.* 1112D; Angelomus 116D; Peter Lombard II, 13, 2; Bandinus II, 13; Rupert 207D. Arnold of Chartres (see index) gives an explanation of the six days that was undoubtedly suggested by Augustine.

<sup>4</sup> So Suarez, *Tract.* I, 10-11, after discussing and rejecting the interpretations of Augustine and Philo; cf. Hugo of St. Victor 35A.

<sup>5</sup> Beda *Hex.* 39B; Hugo of St. Victor 38B.

formed in six days into this world.<sup>1</sup> From failure to emphasize the *causales rationes* which, according to Augustine, were implanted in the first creation and gave rise to the genera and species of things, the commentators finally came to absolute dissent with him in this matter, declaring that species were made after substance.<sup>2</sup> In this may be seen a reversion to the older exegesis of Basil and Ambrose. The writers sometimes state that God's work consists of creation, disposition, and adornment.<sup>3</sup>

Disagreement with these fundamental doctrines of Augustine naturally brought with it other important differences. There was a growing tendency to explain "heaven" in Gen. 1:1, identified by Augustine with the angels, as a place, to enumerate the different heavens,<sup>4</sup> and to give an account of the first three verses wherein the light is material, not, as Augustine said, the information of the angels by their conversion to God. Beda here again was the leader, and his influence may be traced in practically all the Hexaemera that were not thoroughly Augustinian. His account (*Hex.* 15A ff.), which owes much to Augustine and to Ambrose, is as follows. Earth and water are expressly mentioned in Gen. 1:2, and the other elements must be considered to be present, fire in the iron and stone in the earth, and air in the earth itself, as exha-

<sup>1</sup> Beda *Hex.* 15B; Hugo of St. Victor 34B (*non ex toto carens forma sed ad comparationem sequentis pulchritudinis et ordinis*); Hugo of Amiens *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Beda *Com.* 205B: *ergo illa omnia primitus fuerunt non mole corporis aut magnitudine, sed ui potentiae causalis*; cf. *Hex.* 39C. This practically agrees with Augustine. But cf. Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob*, MPL LXXVI, 644D: *rerum quippe substantia simul creata est sed simul species formata non est* (cited by Remi 59C); Hugo of Amiens 1253C; Thierry of Chartres 53; Bruno 147B, 161A; Peter Lombard II, 7; 11, 8; Bandinus II, 7; Angelomus 127A; Peter Comestor 1065D. Albertus Magnus IV, 72, 2, 3 and Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. nat.* II, 23 ff. comment on the difference of opinion.

<sup>3</sup> Peter Comestor 1056B, Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. nat.* II, 25.

<sup>4</sup> Beda *Com.* 192B names seven heavens—air, ether, Olympus, fiery space, firmament, heaven of the angels, and heaven of the Trinity, and assigns to Jerome's authority three—the last three mentioned. With Strabus 68C, Remi 55A. Peter Lombard II, 2, 6, and Bandinus II, 2, use a formula defining the first heaven as the empyrean, fiery, intellectual heaven, so called from its splendor, because it is always full of angels, and not because of its heat; Neckam I, 3 enumerates the *caelum trinitatis*, *empyreum*, *sidereum*, *aerium*. Cf. also Hrabanus 445A; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 7; *Spec. nat.* I, 28; Isidorus *De ord. creat.* III, 4; Peter Comestor 1055B.

lations show.<sup>1</sup> There was not a complete chaos, but the earth was much like that portion which is now covered by the sea; the waters, completely covering the earth, reached as high as the waters above the firmament.<sup>2</sup> The first created light, which is not the light in which the angels dwelt (16B, quoting Basil), but material light, shone on the lower portions of the universe, lighting the region now lighted by the sun (17A). From Ambrose he takes the naïve explanation that if divers can see under water by emitting oil from their mouths, God can surely cause light to shine in the water.<sup>3</sup> The explanation of the separation of the light and darkness of course depends upon the view taken of the light.<sup>4</sup> Some, following Augustine *DCD* XI, 19, take it to be the separation of the good and the bad angels; others, following *Lit.* I, 17, 34, call it the separation of formed and unformed things (*supra*, p. 68). But in the *Hexaemeron* (17C) Beda says that the light was divided so as to shine in the upper and not the lower parts of the earth, and that it passed under the earth, making a day of twenty-four hours with morning and evening, precisely as the sun does. Hrabanus (448C) follows him. This of course conflicts with the meaning of "morning" and "evening" given by Augustine, but many of the writers show reminiscences of the latter.

The efforts to give a concrete definition of the firmament and the waters above it are also typical of the time. In general, two opinions were current, that of Basil, according to which the firmament is not solid but simply a dividing space in the heavens,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is Basilian; *supra*, p. 46. Cf. Hrabanus 446A; Angelomus 115D; Remi 55A.

<sup>2</sup> Hrabanus 446C; Remi *loc. cit.*; Neckam I, 3; Strabus 69D.

<sup>3</sup> Ambrose 142B; cf. Basil 45B. Beda *loc. cit.*; Hrabanus 448A; Angelomus 117B; Peter Lombard II, 13, 3. Remi 55B says that the light was like our twilight; cf. Peter Comestor 1057B. It is called *lucida nubes* in Hugo of St. Victor 34D, Peter Comestor *loc. cit.* and Peter Lombard *op. cit.* 2; cf. Du Bartas in Sylvester's translation: "Whether about the vast confused crowd For twice six hours he spread a shining cloud"; Milton, *P.L.* VII, 247: "Sphered in a radiant cloud, for yet the sun Was not; she in a cloudy tabernacle Sojourn'd the while."

<sup>4</sup> Traces of the Augustinian doctrine of the light are seen in Beda *Com.* 193D; Honorius *Hex.* 261A; Strabus 67B; Neckam I, 3. Arnold of Chartres 1519A ff. holds the light to be God himself, who reveals the world to Adam.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Isid. *De ord. creat.* IV, 8; Rupert of Deutz 219A; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 20; Angelomus 118D; Peter Lombard II, 14, 2; Bandinus II, 14; according to the latter two, some thought it fiery.

and the more popular opinion that it was a solid thing, made out of the waters,<sup>1</sup> and either ice<sup>2</sup> or crystalline.<sup>3</sup> The waters above the firmament were sometimes said to be water,<sup>4</sup> sometimes ice,<sup>5</sup> sometimes vapor (*supra*, p. 69, n. 3), while on the other hand some tried to explain this scriptural difficulty by allegorical means,<sup>6</sup> and many repeat the statement of Augustine, that whatever the nature of the waters, we must believe in them, for the authority of the Scriptures is greater than the capacity of man's mind (*supra*, p. 69), or that of Beda, that what the waters are and what their use is, God alone knows.<sup>7</sup> Beda's theory of the congregation of the waters—(*Hex.* 20B)—that they were at this time thickened from the consistency of clouds to their present density and thus made to occupy less space than before,<sup>8</sup> and that the hollows to receive them were then made<sup>9</sup>—reappears many times among these authors.

Although in the above cited specific instances and in the tone of the whole work the mediaeval writers differ much from Augustine, certain of Augustine's doctrines are fundamental with them and incidentally many topics are taken from him. For example, from Augustine is derived the idea that God's working, being neither in time nor space, is wholly unlike human working; in support of which *Lit.* I, 18, 36 is often quoted (*supra*, p. 21).

<sup>1</sup> Beda *Hex.* 18BC; Peter Lombard II, 14, 1; Bandinus *loc. cit.*; Hugo of St. Victor 35A; Vincent of Beauvais *loc. cit.*; Isid. *op. cit.* IV, 4; Peter Comestor 1058A.

<sup>2</sup> Angelomus 119A; Conches denies this, *De phil. m.* 57D ff.

<sup>3</sup> Beda, Lombard, Bandinus, Vincent, Hugo, Comestor *ll. cc.*; Honorius *Hex.* 256A, Hrabanus 449C.

<sup>4</sup> Rupert of Deutz 1, 23 thinks this reasonable.

<sup>5</sup> Remi 56A; Abelard 743B; Peter Comestor 1058C (suggests as a possibility); cf. Vincent of Beauvais *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> E.g., Beda *Com.* 195B, giving several allegorical explanations; Hildebert 1213B; Peter Damianus *ap. MPL* CXLV, 992BC.

<sup>7</sup> Beda *Hex.* 19A; Peter Lombard II, 14, 1; Bandinus II, 14; cf. Bruno 151C: *utrum . . . superiores aquae firmamento interposito naturam mutauerint non facile dixerim.*

<sup>8</sup> Suggested by Augustine *Lit.* I, 12, 26; cf. Hrabanus 451B; Angelomus 119D; Lombard II, 14, 5; Bandinus II, 14; Strabus 69D; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 21; *Spec. nat.* V, 3 (where he opposes the theory, suggesting that the upper part of the vapor was rarefied into air and only the lower part condensed); Bruno 151B; Peter Comestor 1059B.

<sup>9</sup> Basilian in origin; cf. Hrabanus, Angelomus, Lombard, Bandinus, Comestor *ll. cc.*

They also frequently discuss the questions which Augustine treated at great length—what God did before creation; how a desire to create can arise in an immutable God; and why, if God always had the desire and intention to create, the world is not coeternal with him (*supra*, pp. 65 ff.). Furthermore the belief of the mediaeval writers that the commands of God in Genesis are in the Word is founded on Augustine's doctrine (*supra*, p. 21).

The mediaeval Hexaemera in general discuss nearly the same topics; some of these have their source in Augustine, some may be traced back of Augustine, and some are the product of the pedantic curiosity which was stated above to be characteristic of the time. As examples of themes which occur very commonly in these works, the following will serve: that "in the beginning" means "in the Word" (*passim*); that from the wording of Gen. 1:2 heaven was not unformed and void like the earth;<sup>1</sup> that the darkness was not an entity, but the absence of light (*supra*, p. 23); that birds and fish were both created out of the water because of the likeness of moist air to water (*supra*, p. 70); the comparison of the passage of the spirit of God over the waters to the passage of the will of the artisan over his work (*supra*, p. 68, n. 3); that the second day is not blessed because the number two, which is the first to go beyond unity, is the principle of evil;<sup>2</sup> that the soul of man is not made from God's nature (*supra*, p. 71); the question how the race would have been propagated had there been no sin;<sup>3</sup> the imprisonment of the fallen angels in the lower air;<sup>4</sup> that sin is responsible for the harm done by animals, poisons, and thorns (*supra*, p. 5, n. 4); that "Let us make" in the account of man's creation is evidence of the trinity (*supra*, p. 52); that the "image"

<sup>1</sup> Bruno 148B; Honorius *Hex.* 255A; Angelomus 115A; Aethicus I, 1, 2; Hrabanus 445A; Bandinus II, 2; Arnold of Chartres 1518C.

<sup>2</sup> Remi 56B; Peter Lombard II, 14, 4; Bandinus II, 14; Peter Comestor 1058D; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. nat.* II, 24 says: *tradunt enim Hebraei quod in secunda angelus factus est diabolus*, and makes this the reason (apparently drawing from Comestor *loc. cit.*).

<sup>3</sup> Beda *Com.* 201A; Erigena IV, 12; Angelomus 123B; Rupert of Deutz 254; Peter Comestor 1064B. Augustine discussed this topic.

<sup>4</sup> An Augustinian topic; *Lit.* III, 10, 14-15; cf. Neckam I, 3; Peter Lombard II, 6, 3; Bandinus II, 6; Rupert of Deutz 214B; Vincent of Beauvais *Spec. hist.* I, 10.

of God in man is internal (*supra*, p. 32); that creation took place in the spring (*supra*, p. 59, n. 2); that God's goodness is the reason for creation (*supra*, p. 5, n. 1); that God's rest on the seventh day means that he ceased to create new genera, but continues to support the universe (*supra*, p. 71, n. 4); the erect stature of man (*supra*, p. 10, n. 3); that time was made with the world; why so little was said of the angels and heaven;<sup>1</sup> why man was assigned food if he was made immortal (*supra*, p. 71); topics concerning the angels;<sup>2</sup> discussion of astronomical topics.

In general the mediaeval Hexaemera conform to the type that has just been described; in the twelfth century, however, there were certain new developments. Briefly, these are the tendency to explain creation as a continuous physical process depending upon the working out of natural causes, and the renewed influx of the influence of Plato, the neo-Platonists, and Erigena.

In the movement first mentioned, Beda, with his account of Gen. 1:2, partially adapted from Augustine, was the real leader, and was followed in the essentials of his exegesis by Hrabanus, Remi, Honorius, Bruno, Hugo of St. Victor, Peter Lombard, Bandinus, William of Conches, and Vincent of Beauvais. Thierry of Chartres, however, and to a less extent William of Conches, probably taking their start from the principles of Beda, carried this variety of interpretation much farther. Thierry applies it to the whole narrative of creation. In Gen. 1:1, "heaven," he states, means fire and air, and "earth" is earth and water; of these, fire is active, earth is passive, and the others are intermediary.<sup>3</sup> The heavens cannot stand still because of their lightness, and since they cannot go forward, they revolve. In their

<sup>1</sup> Beda *Hex.* 16A; Hugo of St. Victor 38D; Hrabanus 447A; Honorius *Hex.* 253B; the reason usually given was that Moses wrote primarily for the instruction of the inhabitants of this world. Raleigh I, 1, 4, says that it was because of the limited understanding of the Israelites.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., the nine Dionysian orders, *passim*; the fall of Lucifer and its cause, and the functions of the angels as guardians, *passim*; the question whether the angels have bodies (Rupert of Deutz 4; Peter Lombard II, 8; Bandinus II, 8); whether all grades of angels are sent as messengers (Lombard II, 10).

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 14. The whole statement is reminiscent of Plato's arrangement of the elements in proportion, especially as Thierry (58) says that God *proportionaliter adaptavit* the qualities of the elements. Thierry, as will be seen, knew the *Timæus*.

first revolution, the highest element of heaven, fire, lighted the highest of the lower elements, air, and through the medium of the air warmed the water. As the result, some of the water rose and was suspended in the form of vapor over the lower world, and with the second movement of the heaven, the second day, the air slid into the space between the vaporized water and the fluid water below, forming the firmament (54). By the diminution of the water in this way, and by the continuation of the heating process during the third revolution of the fire, land was made to appear in the form of islands, and the heat gave to the earth, still mingled with the water, the power to produce vegetable forms. The stars too were made from waters drawn up into the firmament.<sup>1</sup> The action of heat on the earth and sea also produced the fish, birds, beasts, and man. William of Conches, who in general held to the interpretation of Beda, agreed with Thierry in the latter particular, the creation of living beings by the action of heat, and to justify himself against the criticism that this detracted from God's power, he contended that it rather exalted God's power to hold that God gave things such a nature and created the human body through the operation of nature (*De phil. mund.* 56B).<sup>2</sup>

The renewed interest in Plato at this time affected the Hexaemeral writers in various degrees, leading some merely to cite him, others to frame portions of their doctrine by his aid, and at least one author, Bernard of Tours, to write a Platonic account of creation based almost entirely upon the *Timaeus*. Chalcidius was still the medium through whom Plato was known. In particular, the doctrines of the pattern of the world in God's Word, the soul of the universe, and the chaotic state in which matter existed at first, show Platonic influence.

<sup>1</sup> They are made from water because nothing is visible unless it opposes some obstacle to the vision (56); air and fire do not do this, and earth is too heavy to be drawn up; and moreover, things are nourished by likes, and the old philosophers say that the stars are nourished by water.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. K. Werner, "Die Kosmologie und Naturlehre des scholastischen Mittelalters mit spezieller Beziehung auf Wilhelm von Conches," *Sitzungsb. d. k. Ak. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, Wien, 75, 320. Wilhelm's blunt statement, *non enim ad litteram credendus est constasse primum hominem* (*loc. cit.* 56A) and some of his other theories gave offense, and he was obliged to make retractions in a later work.

In the earlier works of this period but little emphasis was on the theory of the existence of the forms of things in the Word, although this was a part of the teaching of Augustine. Now, in the authors who show their knowledge of Plato by citing him, this topic is again taken up. So Honorius (*De im. mund.* I, 2) says: "creatio mundi quinque modis scribitur. uno quo ante tempora saecularia immensitas mundi in mente diuina concipitur, quae conceptio archetypus mundus dicitur . . . secundo. cum ad exemplum archetypi hic sensibilis mundus in materia creatur, sicut legitur, qui manet in aeternum creauit omnia insimul. tertio cum per species et formas sex diebus hic mundus formatur." The other modes are, respectively, creation by man and the final renewal of all things by God. While the general tone is Augustinian, the expression *archetypus mundus* in the above passage is allied to Platonism. Honorius shows that he was familiar with the *Timaeus* by citing the beginning of that dialogue in *Hex.* 263A and saying that Plato there used the words "one, two, three" because he knew the virtue of the perfect number six, and that the numbers refer respectively to God, the *spiritualis creatura* and the corporeal world.

Abelard, in speaking of the archetype, definitely associates Plato with the idea, and is very liberal in his treatment of him: "quasi bina sit omnium rerum creatio, una quidem primum in ipsa diuinae prouidentiae ordinatione, altera in opere. secundum quas etiam duas creationes duos esse mundos, unum uidelicet intellegibilem, alterum sensibilem, astruxere philosophi. quod nec ab euangelica dissidet disciplina, si sententiae ueritatem magis quam uerborum attendamus proprietatem . . . item nec Plato quidem in hoc errauit quia esse mundum intellegibilem dixit, si non uocabulum quod ecclesiasticae consuetudini in re illa minime usitatum est sed ipsam rem uolumus attendere. mundum quippe ille intellegibilem nuncupauit ipsam rationem qua fecit deus mundum. quam qui esse negat sequitur ut dicat irrationabiliter deum fecisse quae fecit."<sup>1</sup> He is of course wrong in identifying

<sup>1</sup> *Hex.* 737D ff. The last sentence is reminiscent of Augustine *Retraut.* I, 3; cf. also Aug. *De diu. quaest.* 83, qu. 46.

the Platonic pattern and the Christian Word. The same kind of Platonism is shown in the following stanzas of his hymns:

Opus dignum opifice  
pulchrum indissolubile  
ad exemplar fit perfectissimum  
instar cuncta concludens optimum.

—MPL CLXXVIII, 1775.

In ortum mundi sensilis  
mundus intellegibilis  
caelo simul et terra condito  
de diuino iam prodit animo.

—*Ibid.* 1776.

Abelard also refers to *Tim.* 29E ff. in connection with the phrase "God saw it was good" (*Hex.* 766B), and to show that the will of God can keep ice above fire, in the discussion of the upper waters. he quotes 41B in the version of Chalcidius slightly modified.

The notion of the pattern of the world, containing all the forms of things, is also found in Thierry of Chartres and Bernard of Tours. In the former, the pattern is the *sapientia* of God, which, as will be seen, he mystically calls equality with God. It is the source of being for the forms, measures and ideas of things.<sup>1</sup> In Bernard, the pattern is the Noys, which personified is one of the characters of his *De mundi universitate*: "ea igitur noys summi et exsuperantissimi dei est intellectus et ex eius diuinitate nata natura. in qua uitae uiuentes imagines, notiones aeternae, mundus intellegibilis, rerum cognitio praefinita" (13, 152 ff.). Thus all the mediaeval writers who touch upon the topic of the world-pattern express themselves in the manner inaugurated by Philo and passed on through Origen and the neo-Platonists to Augustine.

The influence of Plato upon the doctrine of a world-soul and upon the conception of chaotic matter has been noticed in a former chapter (*supra*, pp. 7-9). Here again Bernard of Tours was most strongly influenced by the *Timaeus*. He says, however, in neo-Platonic language, that the world soul *quadam uelut emanatione defluxit* (13, 168) from the Noys, and uses the Aristotelian term *rerum endelechia* (*ibid.*) to describe it. But his description of the world soul as a globe, finite, indeed, but *quam non oculis uerum solo peruideas intellectu* (*ibid.*) may be compared with *Tim.* 36E 5 ff., 28A 1 ff., and as in the *Timaeus* the world soul is divided mathematically, so here number secures the peaceful union of the world

<sup>1</sup> *Hex.* 66: "unde formae omnium rerum et mensurae habent existere, ibi notiones continentur." In Aristotelian terms he calls it the formal cause (*ibid.* 67, 52).

and its soul (14, 180 ff.). The function of the world soul is to stop the warring of the elements in the corporeal world (*ibid.* 190 ff.).

The above are the more specific ways in which the *Timaeus* exerted its influence in these times. In the two most remarkable treatises of the series, the *Hexameron* of Thierry and the *De mundi universitate* of Bernard of Tours, and particularly in the latter, its impress may be seen in other details. Thierry likewise expresses views upon the nature of God which seem to be influenced by Erigena, although he arrives at his results by an allegorizing mathematical argument which appears almost neo-Pythagorean.

Thierry (52) first states, in Aristotelian form, that there are four causes of the world—the efficient, God; the formal, God's wisdom; the final, God's love; and the material, the four elements. Because mundane things are perishable and changeable, they must have an author (cf. *Tim.* 28A); and because they are arranged in accordance with reason and the best order, they must have been created in accordance with wisdom (cf. *Tim.* 29A), the formal cause. Furthermore, because God needs nothing beyond his wisdom, they must have been created solely from his love and kindness (cf. *Tim.* 29E). The Platonism of these statements will readily be recognized. Thierry of course held that God actually created matter out of nothing.

In the latter part of the fragment of the *Hexameron* is found Thierry's unique reasoning concerning God and his Wisdom. Unity precedes all difference and all change, since change comes from doubleness. Then unity precedes all creation, since creation is subject to change; it is therefore eternal and divine, or God. He then proceeds (63): "at diuinitas singulis rebus forma essendi est, nam sicut aliquid ex luce lucidum est, uel ex calore calidum, ita singulae res esse suum ex diuinitate sortiuntur. unde deus totus et essentialiter ubique esse perhibetur. unitas igitur singulis rebus forma essendi est." In so far then as things partake of unity they exist; herein Thierry agrees with Erigena.

Now when unity is multiplied by itself it can produce only equality of itself—unity—and this is all that it can generate of itself (65). Equality with unity, then, precedes all numbers and is therefore eternal. But there cannot be two eternal things.

and so unity and equality with unity are one (66). Since the former alone has the property of generating, and the latter of being generated, they have been designated by the names *persona genitoris*, and *persona geniti* (*ibid.*). Again, since the former is the essence of all things, the latter must be the equal of the essence of things; that is, an eternal mode, or definition, or determination, aside from which nothing can exist (*ibid.*). This mode philosophers have called the mind of divinity, and the wisdom of the creator. From it the forms of all things take their existence, and in it are contained the ideas (*notiones, notitiae*) of all things (*ibid.*). If a notion does not agree with the wisdom it is not to be called a *notio* but a *falsa imaginatio*. He likewise identifies the equality of unity with the Word and with the *aeterna creatoris de omnibus rebus praefinitio* (68).

The *De mundi universitate* of Bernard of Tours<sup>1</sup> marks the extreme of pre-Renaissance Platonism. Although in some respects the author tries to give the treatise a Christian setting,<sup>2</sup> he abandons all reference to the six days, and follows closely the *Timaeus* both in its general outline<sup>3</sup> and in its detail.<sup>4</sup> The work has an imaginative, mystical, and mythological form; Noys and the natural forces denoted by *Natura*, *Physis* and *Urania* are per-

<sup>1</sup> It is now generally conceded that the treatise is by Bernard of Tours (Siluestris) and not by Bernard of Chartres; Ueberweg-Heinze, *Gesch. d. Phil.* II, 214-16; Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres*, 1895, 158 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The notion of heaven, with the Dionysian orders of angels, is Christian; Noys corresponds to the second member of the Trinity, born of God (7, 5), the reason of God and not in time (9, 6). Bernard refers to the first unordered chaos as *diuinum opus* (8, 53), implying creationism, but in 61, 1 ff. he calls it one of the two principia, *unitas* and *diuersum*.

<sup>3</sup> Matter is represented first as a *mater* or *nulrix* which receives various forms and is in constant change (10, 47 ff., *supra*, p. 8). Out of this the four elements are derived; the mathematical derivation in the *Timaeus* however is not imitated. Then the creation of the world soul is described, but without the mathematical detail of the *Timaeus*. The mediacy of numbers however secures the harmony of the soul and body of the world (14, 180 ff.). The second book, the *Microcosmus*, describes the creation and structure of man, as does the latter part of the *Timaeus*.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., the motif so often found in the *Timaeus*, that there is an innate evil in matter which makes it recalcitrant (*supra*, p. 6; cf. *De mund. univ.* 7, 13; 9, 23; 11, 73; 31, 81; 33, 14; 61, 15); all of each element is used up in making the world, that the latter may be perfect, 12, 130, *Tim.* 32C-33A; things as they exist in the

sonified, and perform the acts of ordering the universe and making man. Besides the Platonism of his cosmology in general, which is seen chiefly in his conception of the world as a body animated by a soul, Bernard introduces the doctrine of *ἀνάμνησις*.<sup>1</sup> His idea of the elements and their interaction is Aristotelian (cf. 62, 50 ff. and *supra*, p. 13), and he introduces the thought that matter desires form, probably with reference to Chalcidius, but ultimately to Aristotle.<sup>2</sup> In certain passages there is a suggestion of the pantheism exemplified by Erigena.<sup>3</sup>

The Hexaemeral tradition by no means ends with Bernard of Tours. It is however not the purpose of this study to give more than a cursory review of its later course.

The *Première semaine* of DuBartas, the first chapters of Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, Tasso's *Le sette giornate del mondo creato*, and the seventh book of Milton's *Paradise Lost* may be taken as representative Hexaemera of this final period of the history of the tradition. In general they conform to the mediaeval standards outlined above, and this is especially true of Raleigh; the allegorical interpretations of Augustine, however, are entirely foreign to them, and they are more apt to cite and draw upon Basil and the authors influenced by him. In the case of Du Bartas, Pisides furnished most of the material, an important part of which

Noys are *aeternitati congruum . . . natura cum deo nec substantia disparatum*, 13, 165; cf. *Tim.* 27D-28A; the persistence of the world depends upon the will, i.e., goodness, of God, 30, 25-31; 60; *Tim.* 41A; the universe is an animal, 31, 66 ff., *Tim.* 30B; its form is the perfect one, the sphere, 31, 80, *Tim.* 33B; time is the image of eternity, and differs from eternity in being involved in number and movement, 32, 111; 115; cf. *Tim.* 37D; besides these there is the topic of man's erect stature (55, 27 ff.), and some of the details of human physiology are Platonic, cf. the account of sight, 66, 15 ff. and *Tim.* 45B ff., and the description of the protection of the eyes, 66, 33 ff., with *Tim.* 45D. Cf. also 7, 10 ff. and *Tim.* 29E; *nulricis* 8, 41 with *Tim.* 49A; 11, 85 *ninxit medietatibus*, etc., and *Tim.* 31B ff.; 11, 87 and *Tim.* 32C; 31, 69 and *Tim.* 30D.

<sup>1</sup> 39, 31 ff., cf. especially *Tim.* 41D 8 ff. In 37, 61 ff., *Natura* sees souls descending from heaven to enter bodies.

<sup>2</sup> 8, 18 ff.; cf. Chalcidius in *Tim.* 286-87, and Wrobel, *Platonis Timaeus interprete Chalcidio*, Intr. xiii, on the influence of Chalcidius.

<sup>3</sup> 29, 5: *quidquid enim ad essentiam sui generis promotione succedit, ex caelo tamquam ex deo vitae subsistentiae suae causas suscepit et naturam.*—De Wulf, *Hist. de la Phil. Med.* 233.

is the anecdotes from the *Physiologus*. Raleigh cites Basil, Augustine, Philo, Lactantius, Beda, and many mediaeval authors. Tasso seems to have used Basil, and, as Pellissier notes,<sup>1</sup> the *Première semaine* of DuBartas. Milton used DuBartas and other material drawn from his extensive reading. The scheme of his poem tends to make it more concrete and picturesque than the others.

Passing to the discussion of a few of the more important topics of the Hexaemera as they appear in these writers, it will be found that with the exception of Raleigh they speak of the Word and the Wisdom of God. DuBartas has little upon this matter, but in Milton the Word is made an actor in the drama and the agent of creation:

And thou, my Word, begotten Son, by thee  
This I perform. Speak thou, and be it done.

—VII, 163-64; cf. III, 383 f.

Milton also gives a suggestion of the doctrine of the pattern world of Plato:

though what if earth  
Be but the shadow of heaven, and the things therein  
Each to the other like, more than on earth  
Is thought?

—V, 574-77.

A primal chaos is also a part of the subject-matter of these authors. Undoubtedly Ovid, whom Raleigh (I, 1, 5) quotes, furnished an example for such descriptions. According to DuBartas, who sets forth an Ovidian chaos, God first created the four elements out of nothing, and they at first, lying together and not yet in their proper places, were in a state of strife. In the second book he devotes another long passage to the description of the chaos, the elements and their interaction, upon the latter subject following the Aristotelian doctrine.

In these passages of DuBartas, Milton found a precedent for his own description of chaos, and perhaps used them, but there are clear traces of both Ovid and Lucretius in his poem. In Chaos, an

illimitable ocean, without bound,  
Without dimension, where length and breadth and highth  
And time and space are lost

—II, 892-94.

<sup>1</sup> Georges Pellissier, *La vie et les œuvres de DuBartas*, Paris 1882, 267.

the four champions, Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry, strive for the mastery,<sup>1</sup> and from time to time each rules for a moment, as the atoms flock to his banner. The champions are apparently the four elements, which are so mingled that the chaos can be called

The womb of nature, and perhaps her grave,<sup>2</sup>  
Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,  
But all these in their pregnant causes mixed  
Confusedly.

—*Ibid.* 911-14.

The Son marks the bounds of the world in this chaos with golden compasses (VII, 224), and the Spirit of God, brooding over it, brings likes together and gives them their place. In the further minor details of their accounts of the six days, Milton, DuBartas, and Raleigh adopted the topics of the earlier Hexaemera, as the notes in the preceding chapters have shown, and to recount them would be more repetition.

Doubtless a thorough examination of the philosophers, encyclopaedists, and historians of the late Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the post-Renaissance period would demonstrate that a surprisingly large number made use of topics derived from the Hexaemera, and inherited through many intermediate hands from Plato, Philo, Basil, and Augustine. The recognition of the existence of this long line of writings, whose subject-matter tended to arrange itself under a limited number of topics common to all, is important for the complete understanding of many literary works,<sup>3</sup> not only Milton, Raleigh, and DuBartas, but also passages in many authors not directly connected with the tradition.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. II, 898-99: "For Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry, four champions fierce, Strive here for mastery;" Ovid *Met.* I, 19: *frigida pugnabant calidis, uementia siccis*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lucr. v, 259: *omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulcrum*.

<sup>3</sup> Pellissier (*op. cit.*) fails to appreciate that DuBartas came at the end of this series of writings. He enumerates as authors of Hexaemera, besides Pisides, only Juvencus Proba (a confusion of Juvencus, who should not have been mentioned at all, and Proba; see index), Dracontius, Cl. Marius Victor, and Avitus (69, n. 6).

<sup>4</sup> A few illustrations from Sir Thomas Browne (*Religio Medici*) will show the influence of Hexaemeral topics outside of their proper field: "Time we may comprehend; 'tis but five days elder than ourselves, and hath the same Horoscope with the World." "Some divines count Adam thirty years old at his Creation, because they suppose him created in the perfect age and stature of man." "And in this sense [i.e., in the Idea of God], I say, the World was before the Creation."



## INDEX OF NAMES

- ABAEIARDUS, PETRUS (d. 1142): *Expositio in Genesim; Introductio ad Theologiam; Theologia Christiana* (MPL CLVIII). 85 f.; 9 n. 3.
- AEGIDIUS PARISIENSIS (b. 1162): Revised and enlarged the *Aurora* of Petrus de Riga.
- AETHICUS OF ISTRIA (6th century?): *Cosmographia*; contains an incomplete account of creation, according to which matter was first made and then shaped into the world (I, 1, 1); there are seven heavens, the lowest being the firmament (I, 1, 7); the angels were made before the world (I, 2, 1). Text *ap.* D'Avezac, *Éthicus et les ouvrages cosmographiques intitulés de ce nom*, Paris, 1852; cf. Manitius, *Lat. Lit. d. Mitt.* 229.
- ALBERTUS MAGNUS (1193-1280): *Summa de creaturis* (*Opera*, XXXIV, ed. S. C. A. Borgnet, Paris, 1895).
- ALCIMUS ECDICIUS AVITUS (d. 523): *De origine mundi* (ed. R. Peiper, *Mon. Germ. Hist.* VI, 2; also in MPL LIX); poetical paraphrase.
- ALCUIN (ca. 735-804): *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesim* (Benedictine ed. of Augustine, VIII, 1636 ff.; MPL C, 515).
- AMBROSIUS MEDIOLANENSIS (d. 397): *Hexaemeron* (MPL XIV). 58 f.; 42.
- AMMONIUS monachus Alexandrinus (ca. 400): *Enarratio in opus sex dierum* (lost); cited by Anast. Sin: 856A, 860C.
- ANASTASIUS SINAITA (ca. 650): *Anagogicae Contemplationes in Hexaemeron* (MPG LXXXIX, 857 ff.). Mainly allegorical treatment of creation. 36, 57.
- ANGELOMUS (monk of Luxeuil, ca. 855): *Commentarii in Genesim* (MPL CXV, 101 ff.). Distinctly Augustinian (e.g., in the interpretation of "Let there be light" and of the meaning of the six days); little originality; other authorities are often cited. Manitius 419-20.
- ANNIANUS (ca. 412): Chronicler to whom Syncellus apparently owes the designation of March 25 as the day of creation (cf. Gelzer, *Sextus Iulius Africanus*, II, 248).
- ANONYMOUS (a Pharisee, ca. 135-105 B.C.; cf. Charles's Intr., xiii): The Book of Jubilees or Little Genesis (translated from the Ethiopic and edited by R. H. Charles, London, 1902). Originally written in Hebrew; there was a Greek version which was the parent of the Ethiopic and Latin versions (Charles, Intr. xxvi ff.); the latter ed. Ceriani, *Mon. sacr. et prof.* I, 115-62 (1861). 25 ff.
- ANONYMOUS (early in the Christian era): The Book of Enoch ("Ethiopic Enoch," translated and edited by R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1893). Originally in Hebrew; the Ethiopic version is from a Greek intermediary lost after Syncellus' time. 25 ff.

- ANONYMOUS (a Hellenistic Jew in Egypt, beginning of the Christian era): The Book of the Secrets of Enoch ("Slavonic Enoch"; translated and edited by W. R. Morfill and R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1896). Not a version of the Book of Enoch; originally written in Greek. 25 ff.
- ANONYMOUS: The Book of Adam and Eve (translated from the Ethiopic by Rev. S. C. Malan, London and Edinburgh, 1882), a Christian work of the fifth or sixth century. 25 ff.
- ANONYMOUS (?): Suidas, s.v. *Τυππηρία*, speaks of a Tuscan who wrote a history including an account of creation. The author was either Christian or used scriptural material; he introduced the theory of the world-week.
- ANONYMOUS: Chronicler of the tenth century; in Cod. Vat. gr. 163 (Krumbacher 361, 363); contains the creation account found in Symeon Logothetes (q.v.).
- ANSELMUS (d. 1109): Mentioned as the author of a book on the Hexaemeron *ap. Monitum in Pisidae Hex.*, MPG XCII, 1388, on the authority of Trithemius, *Chron. Hirsaugiense*. G. Haenel (*Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum*, Leipzig, 1830) records a MS (s. xiii membr. fol.) at the Bibliothèque de la Ville, Arras, *Anselmi Cantuar. comm. super principium genesis*.
- APION (193-211): *Hexaemeron* (lost). Cf. Euseb. *Hist. ecc.* V, 27; Hieron. *De uir. ill.* 48.
- ARISTOTLE (384-322 B.C.). 13 f.; 46, 55, 58.
- ARNOLDUS OF CHARTRES (ca. 1160): *Tractatus de operibus sex dierum* (MPL CLXXXIX, 1507 ff.; *Max. Bibl. Patr.* XXII, 1284 ff.). Beginning with the Augustinian doctrine of an extra-temporal and extra-spatial God (1515A, 1516A), and a world eternal in its *rationes causales* contained in the Word (1515CD), but not eternal in its present state, he says that creation is one act (1518A), explains the days as the order in which the world was unfolded to Adam by the Word (1520CD), and interprets allegorically the works of the separate days.
- ATHENAGORAS ATHENIENSIS (ca. 177): *Supplicatio pro Christianis; De resurrectione* (Otto, VII).
- AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS (d. 430): *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* (cited as *Man.*); *De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus Liber*; *De Genesi ad Litteram Libri XII* (cited as *Lit.*); MPL XXXIV; the two latter also ed. J. Zycha, CV XXVIII. *Confessiones* (ed. P. Knöll, Leipzig, 1898); *De ciuitate Dei* (cited as *DCD*; ed. B. Dombart, Leipzig, 1877). 64 ff.; 16 f., 19 ff.
- AUXILIUS (end ninth century): cited *ap. Monitum in Pisidae Hex.*, MPG XCII, 1391, as the author of *capita cxxxvii in Hexaemeron*, which the writer claims exists in manuscript in the Bibliotheca Casinensis.
- BANDINUS (? 12th century): *Sententiarum ll. IV.* (MPL CXCI). See PETER LOMBARD.
- BARTHOLOMAEUS DE LUCA (ca. 1300): *Hexaemeron* (lost); see note *ap. MPG* XCII, 1389.

- BASILIIUS MAGNUS (d. 379): *Hexaemeron* (MPG XXIX). 42 ff.; 17, 19, 62.
- BASILIIUS SELEUCIENSIS (ca. 458): *Oratio I* (MPG LXXXV, 27 ff.). A sermon containing certain topics of Basiliius Magnus; introduces mention of Job 38:7.
- BEDA VENERABILIS (673-735): *Hexaemeron* (MPL XCI): *De natura rerum* (MPL XC); *Commentarii in Genesim* (MPL XCI); spurious commentaries on the work of the six days are printed ap. MPL XCIII. 77 ff.
- BERNARDUS SILVESTRIS OF TOURS (ca. 1145-53): *De mundi universitate, sive megacosmus et microcosmus* (edd. Baruch et Wrobel, Innsbruck, 1876). 88 f.; 6, 7 f., 19, 86.
- BRUNO OF ASTI, bishop of Segni and abbot of Monte Cassino (1049-1123): *Expositio super Pentateuchum* (MPL CLXIV, 147 ff.; *Max. Bibl. Patr.* XX, 1309 ff.); an account following chiefly Beda and Ambrose, with the Augustinian ideas of God's immutability, and including allegorical interpretations.
- CANDIDUS (193-211): *Hexaemeron* (lost). Cf. Euseb. *Hist. ecc.* V, 27; Hieron. *De uir. ill.* 49.
- CEDRENUS, GEORGIUS (ca. 1000): *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν* (BC, ed. I. Bekker). Cedrenus gives a short account of creation compiled chiefly from Syncellus and the account mentioned under Symeon. The matter taken from the former was originally from Jubilees, with the citations of Annianus and Africanus mentioned below (see SYNCELLUS). In 9, 19-21 he cites Josephus and Jubilees, but the other citations of the latter come through Syncellus.
- CHALCIDIUS (ca. 300 ?): Translator of and commentator upon Plato's *Timaeus* (ed. Wrobel, 1876). The translation, which goes through 53B, was an important source of knowledge of Plato in the Middle Ages; the commentary is a source for certain Hebrew interpretations of Genesis. 34 f.
- CHRYSOSTOMUS, JOHANNES (d. 407): *Homiliae in Genesim XII* (MPG LIII). 57.
- CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS (ca. 150-211-16): *Ὑποτυπώσεις* (lost; see Photius cod. 109). This work treated of Genesis; Photius alleges that therein Clement expressed belief in the eternity of matter, metempsychosis, the existence of worlds before Adam; that he called the Son a creation (*κτίσμα*); and that he had a theory of two logoi, one that of the Father, the other that of the Son. Bigg (*Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, 69 n. 3, 270 n. 1) shows that Clement did use the verb *κτίζειν* of the Son, and that the statement of Photius, that Clement thought the angels joined in wedlock with human women, is correct, but argues convincingly, by comparison with the extant works of Clement, that the rest of Photius' statement must rest upon a blunder. Nourry (ap. *Clem. Al. Opera*, ed. Dindorf, IV, 512 ff.) also rejects the testimony of Photius because it does not agree with the estimate of Clement in Euseb. *Hist. ecc.* VI, 13 ff. 41.

CONSTANTINUS MANASSES (first half of twelfth century): *Σύνοψις χρονική* (BC, ed. I. Bekker). Poetical paraphrase of slight value. He gives (243-44) the etymology of "Adam" found in Josephus.

COSMAS INDICOPLEUSTES (ca. 537): *Χριστιανική τοπογραφία* (ed. Montfaucon, whose paging is given *supra*; reprinted *ap.* MPG LXXXVIII; see also *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk*, translated and edited by J. W. McCrindle, London, for the Hakluyt Society, 1897). 60 ff.

CYPRIANUS GALLUS (ca. 400?): *Heptateuchos* (ed. R. Peiper, CV, XXIII). A metrical paraphrase, apparently used by Marius Victor and Hilarius (see Peiper *op. cit.* xxv-xxvi). The portion on Genesis was published by Guil. Morel, 1560, as by Cyprianus, bishop of Carthage, and is included as a doubtful work of the latter by Hartlein, CV III; it was ascribed to Juven-  
cus by Card. Pitra and others.

DIODORUS, bishop of Tarsus (d. before 394): *Commentarii in Genesim* (fragments *ap.* MPG XXXIII). Diodorus was the teacher of Theodorus of Mopsuestia. 61.

DRACONTIUS (ca. 440): *Carmen de laudibus Dei* (MPL LX; ed. Vollmer, *Mon. Germ. Hist. auct. ant.* XIV, 1). Paraphrase of Genesis.

DUBARTAS, GUILLAUME SALLUSTE (b. 1544): *Première semaine*. An account of the six days of creation showing some connection with the ancient sources, notably Pisides (whom DuBartas knew through the Latin of F. Morel and followed closely in some parts). He introduces the Aristotelian doctrine of the interchange of the elements and an account of their chaotic strife based apparently on Ovid (*Met.* I, 5-20) or Lucretius. He holds to a literal interpretation of the days of creation and takes from Pisides much of the *Physiologus* matter. In certain topics (see notes *supra*) he agrees with other Hexaemeral writers; he introduces physiological matter after the fashion of Ambrose and probably knew some of the Latin poems on Genesis. On the life and works of DuBartas, see Georges Pellissier, *La vie et les œuvres de DuBartas*, Paris, 1882. Citations are to the English translation of Sylvester or the Latin of Gabriel de Lerm (London, 1591). 89 ff. Several French poets imitated the *Première semaine*:

DU MONIN, JEAN-ÉDUARD (1557-86): *Bérésithias*.

DE GAMON, CHRISTOPHE: *Création du monde contre celle du Sieur DuBartas* (1609).

DE RIVIÈRE, ALEXANDRE: *Zodiaque poétique et philosophique de la vie humaine*.

D'AUBIGNÉ: *Création* (*Œuvres*, III, 327 ff.).

EPIPHANIUS CYPRENSIS (ca. 400): *De mensuris et ponderibus*. Also cited by Cosmas 326, and by Anast. Sin. together with Eusebius Emessenus (*q.v.*) as a commentator on the Hexaemeron.

- ERIGENA, JOHANNES SCOTUS (ca. 810–ca. 877): *De diuisione naturae* (MPL CXXII). 73 ff.; 87, 89.
- EUCHERIUS, bishop of Lyons (d. 449): *Hexaameron* (spurious; attributed to Eucherius by the first editor, J. Al. Brassicanus, reprinted *ap.* MPL L, 895 ff.); closely following Augustine. The commentary on Genesis in foll. 63u–76u of cod. 27 (s. viii) at the library of the Grande Séminaire, Autun, headed *Isidori Iunioris expositionum sententias intexuimus* (the last word somewhat indistinct) probably is identical with that attributed to Eucherius (see L. Delisle, *Extrait de la Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, LIX, 386–87, 392). Cod. 27 however mentions the writer's authorities (omitted in the pseudo-Eucherius), among them St. Gregory, which as Delisle remarks would preclude its attribution to Eucherius. Isidorus Junior has usually been understood to be Isidorus himself, but W. M. Lindsay (*Cl. Qu.*, January, 1911) suggests that he may be Julius Toletanus (d. 690). A few Hexaemeral topics are found in the *Instructiones* of Eucherius (ed. C. Wotke CV XXXI, 66 ff.).
- EUGENIUS TOLETANUS (ca. 550): *Monosticha de opere septimi diei* (MPL LXXXVII). Cf. Manitius, *Gesch. d. chr.-lat. Poesie* 426. 73 n. 1.
- EUSEBIUS EMESSENUS (d. ca. 360): Said by Anastasius Sinaita (968C) to have written on the Hexaameron "to the letter," without allegory. See also Asseman, *Bibl. Orient.* III, 44.
- EUSTATHIUS ANTIOCHENUS (ca. 325): *Hexaameron* (spurious; first edited by L. Allatius, 1629, and reprinted in MPG XVIII, 767 ff.). The treatise follows Basil closely. Allatius gives no details as to the MSS. 42.
- EUSTATHIUS (ca. 440): Latin translation of Basil's *Hexaameron* (MPL LIII, 867 ff.).
- EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS (living in 1118): *Panoplia orthodoxae fidei* (MPG CXXVIII ff.; Latin translation in *Max. Bibl. Patr.* XIX). A collection of excerpts.
- FRECUPLHUS, bishop of Lisieux (d. 850): *Chronica* (MPL CVI, 917 ff.), beginning with an account of creation showing influence of contemporary Hexaamera.
- GENNADIUS (patriarch of Constantinople 458–471): Fragments on Genesis *ap.* MPG LXXXV, 1623 ff.
- GENNADIUS, bishop of Marseilles (ca. 495): *De uiris illustribus* or *De scriptoribus* (ed. Herding together with Hieron. *De uir. ill.*; also in MPL LVIII) furnishes information on certain lost Hexaamera of the first five centuries.
- GIRALDUS DE BARRO OF CAMBRENSIS (1147–ca. 1217): *Symbolum electorum* (ed. J. S. Brewer, *Rolls Series*). II, 1 is entitled *De mundi creatione et contentis eiusdem*, of which the author says (p. 421), "plus philosophicum quam theologicum nonnullis in locis dogma secuta."
- GLYCA, MICHAEL (ca. 1150): *Annals* (MPG CLVIII cited here; ed. I. Bekker, *BC*). The first part is an extensive compilation of fragments from Basil

(the chief authority), Severianus, Justin, Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Maximus, John of Damascus, Anastasius, Patricius, etc. He is the only one of the Byzantine historians to make notable use of the *Physiologus*. Krumbacher 380 ff. 42.

GODEFRIDUS of Viterbo (d. 1191): *Pantheon* (reprinted from Muratorius *ap. MPL CXCVIII*, 871 ff., not including any of the OT. history). A history of events from creation to 1186 A.D.; mentions Julius Africanus as an authority (878D).

GREGORIUS NAZIANZENSUS (d. 389): *Orationes* (MPG XXXVI); *Poemata dogmatica* (MPG XXXVII). 53.

GREGORIUS NYSSENUS (d. 397): *De opificio hominis*; *Liber in Hexaemeron*; *Homiliae in uerba Faciamus Hominem* (MPG XLIV). 53 ff.; 17 f., 46, 49 n. 4.

GUIBERTUS, abbas B. Mariae Nouigentis (d. ca. 1100): *Moralia in Genesim* (MPL CLVI, 19 ff.). Allegorical.

HELINANDUS, Cistercian monk at Froidmont (d. 1229): *Chronicon* (part, beginning with Book 45, printed MPL CCXII, 771 ff.). Of the fate of this work and of its nature Vincent of Beauvais, *Spec. hist.* XXIX, 108, says: "et etiam Chronicam diligenter ab initio mundi usque ad tempus suum in maximo quodam uolumine digessit. et hoc quidem opus dissipatum est et dispersum ut nusquam totum reperiatur." It is cited by Vincent.

HELIODORUS (ca. 340): *De naturis rerum exordalium* (lost). Gennadius *De script.* 6: "Heliodorus presbyter scripsit librum de naturis rerum exordalium, in quo ostendit unum esse principium, nec quidquam coaeuum deo, nec mali conditorem deum, sed ita bonorum omnium creatorem ut materia quae ad malum uersa est post inuentam malitiam a deo sit facta, nec quicquam materialium absque deo credatur conditum aut fuisse alium rerum creatorem praeter deum, qui praescientia sua cum praeuideret morti dari (*al. mutandam*) naturam praemonuit de poena."

HIERONYMUS (331-420): *Liber Hebraicarum quaestionum in Genesim* (MPL XXIII, 2). The treatise *De uiris illustribus* is a source of information on certain lost writings.

HILARIO, QUINTUS JULIUS (ca. 397): *Chronologia siue Libellus de mundi duratione* (MPL XIII, 1097 ff.). Briefly mentions the days of creation; an adherent of the world-week theory.

HILARIUS ARELATENSIS (d. ca. 450): *Metrum in Genesim ad Leonem Papam* (ed. R. Peiper, CV XXXIII 231 ff.; also *ap. MPL L*, 1287 ff.). Rather free poetic paraphrase of the Genesis story.

HILDEBERTUS GALLUS (ca. 1055-1134): *De opere sex dierum* (elegiac poem; MPL CLXXI, 1213 ff.). Sandys, *Hist. Class. Schol.* I, 551. For the most part allegorical, but contains some common topics (e.g., Augustine's explanation of God's rest).

- HIPPOLYTUS (ca. 235): Cf. Hieron. *De uir. ill.* 61: "scripsit nonnullos in scripturas commentarios e quibus haec repperi: in hexaemeron, in post hexaemeron . . . in Genesim," etc.; Euseb. *Hist. ecc.* VI, 22, the source of Jerome, does not especially mention the latter commentary. Fragments are published by the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, in their volume on Hippolytus; also in *MPG* X, 583 ff. In the catalogue of his works discovered on a marble pedestal in Rome (*CIG* 8613) appears: *πρὸς Ἑλλήνας καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦ πατρός*, usually identified with the work mentioned by Photius (cod. 48). Christ 735. 39.
- HONORIUS OF AUTUN (ca. 1120): *Hexaemeron* (*MPL* CLXXII, 253 ff.); *De imagine mundi* (*ibid.* 119 ff.); *Elucidarium* (*ibid.* 1109 ff.). 85.
- HRABANUS MAURUS (ca. 784-856): *Commentarii in Genesim* (*MPL* CVII, 439 ff.). Influenced chiefly by Beda.
- HUGO OF AMIENS, archbishop of Rouen (d. 1164): *Tractatio in Hexaemeron* (*MPL* CXCII, 1247 ff.); only a part has been printed. The treatment of God's attributes, the question of the impulse to create, etc., are influenced by Augustine.
- HUGO OF ST. VICTOR (d. ca. 1141): *Adnotationes elucidatoriae in Pentateuchum* (*MPL* CLXXV, 33 ff.). He rejects Augustine's doctrine of creation in one act and in general follows Beda.
- IOBIUS (sixth century): *Οἰκονομικὴ πραγματεία* (cf. Phot. cod. 222 and fragg. ap. *MPG* LXXXVI, 3, 3313-3320). Discussed creation to some extent — see Phot. p. 182 b 27 ed. Bekk., and gave a lengthy discussion of the question why nothing is said of the angels in Genesis (*ibid.* 187 b 22). Cf. Krumbacher, 56.
- IRENAEUS (bishop of Lyons after 177). 36.
- ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS (d. 636): *De natura rerum*; *Etymologiae* (*MPL* LXXXII); *Quaestiones in Genesim* (an allegorical work, *MPL* LXXXIII, 207 ff.); *Liber numerorum qui in sancta scriptura occurrunt* (*ibid.* 179 ff.); *De ordine creaturarum* (*ibid.* 913 ff.); *Sententiae* (*ibid.* 547 ff.).
- JOSEPHUS, FLAVIUS (b. ca. 37; d. under Hadrian): *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum Libri XX.* (ed. B. Niese, Berlin, 1887). 34.
- JULIUS POLYDEUCES (ca. 1000): A Byzantine chronicle falsely attributed to him (ed. J. B. Bianconi, Bononiae, 1779; I. Hardt, *Iulii Pollucis Historia Physica seu Chronicon*, 1792); cf. Krumbacher 342 ff., 363. Contains the creation account in Symeon (q.v.) without the matter drawn from Jubilees (Schalkhauser *Makarios Magnes*, 131, 177, 178).
- JUSTIN MARTYR (d. ca. 163): *Apologiae* (Otto, I). Not strictly a Hexaemeral author; on his doctrines of logos, creation and matter, cf. Pfäffisch, *Der Einfluss Platos auf die Theologie Justins des Märtyrers*, Paderborn, 1910, 53 ff., 93 ff. 12 n. 7; 36.
- JUVENCUS, C. VETIUS AQUILINUS (ca. 349): The poem *Liber in Genesim* (*MPL* XIX, 345 ff.) is identical with that of Cyprianus Gallus and is not by Juvenecus (Arevalo ap. *MPL* XIX, 18 ff.).

- LACTANTIUS (ca. 320): *Divinae institutiones* (ed. Brandt, CV XIX); *De opificio Dei* (*ibid.* XXVII). Book II of the former touches upon the Hexaemeral theme. He argues that God made matter because otherwise God's work would not differ from man's (II, 8, 17 ff.) and because either God must come from matter or vice versa (*ibid.* 31 ff.). Since only that which has sense can originate motion, and since providence is necessary in every creation, God, not matter, is eternal. Matter if eternal would not suffer change (*ibid.* 41). The Son is the assistant of God in designing and creating the world (*ibid.* 7). Chap. v of *De opificio Dei* deals with providence as manifested in the structure of the body; Lactantius seems to have drawn from the same sources as Ambrose in the latter part of the *Hexaemeron* (G. Gossel, *Quibus ex fontibus Ambrosius in describendo corpore humano hauserit*, Leipzig, 1908, 49 ff.).
- LEO GRAMMATICUS (ca. 1013): Byzantine chronicler (*Leonis Grammatici chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, BC); originally contained the creation account in Symeon Logothetes (*q.v.*); only the latter part is now preserved.
- MACARIUS MAGNES (ca. 400): *Λόγοι εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν*, a fragment of which is preserved in cod. Vat. gr. 2022 (see G. Schalkhauser, *Zu den Schriften des Makarios Magnes*, Leipzig, 1907, 137, who also shows that the frags. printed by Crusius *ap. MPG* X are not by Macarius).
- MARIUS VICTOR, CLAUDIUS (d. before 450?): *Alethia* (ed. C. Schenkl, CV XVI, 359 ff.; also *ap. MPL* LXI, 937 ff.). A poetical paraphrase of the creation story in Genesis (in Book I) showing familiarity with the prose Hexaemera. On the question of the author's identity see Schenkl *op. cit.* 346 ff.; Manitius *Gesch. d. chr.-lat. Poesie* 180. Schenkl identifies him with the Victorius of Genn. *De script.* 61; Manitius is somewhat doubtful about the matter. 73 n. 1.
- MARIUS VICTORINUS, C. (ca. 250): Translator of Platonic and other Greek works. 12.
- MAXIMUS (193-211): *Περὶ τῆς ὕλης*, quoted by Euseb. *Praep. ev.* VII, 22; cf. Euseb. *Hist. ecc.* V, 27; Hieron. *De uir. ill.* 47. The fragment in Eusebius denies the pre-existence of matter on the ground that two eternal principles cannot coexist independently.
- METHODIUS (ca. 275): *Περὶ τῶν γεννητῶν* (lost; but see Phot. cod. 235). The passage preserved is part of a polemic against Origen; Christ 748. 40.
- MILTON, JOHN (1608-1674): *Paradise Lost*. Book VII contains an account of the six days of creation, exhibiting many traces of the influence of the Hexaemera. In Book VIII Milton introduces speculation about the heliocentric hypothesis. 89 ff.
- MORE, HENRY (1614-1687): *Conjectura Cabbalistica, or a conjectural essay interpreting the mind of Moses in the three first chapters of Genesis, according to a three-fold Cabbala, viz., literal, philosophical, mystical, or divinely moral.* 1662.

- NECKAM, ALEXANDER (1157-1217): *De naturis rerum libri II.* (ed. Th. Wright, *Rolls Series*, London, 1863). Incidentally treats of creation, interpreting "heaven," "earth," and "light" with Augustine (I, 3). The parts of the universe are described at length.
- NEO-PLATONISTS. 19 ff.; 16.
- ODO GALLUS (d. 942): *Occupationes* (lib. I. *de opificio dei*, lib. II. *de creatione hominis*) *MPL CXXXIII*.
- ORIGENES (d. 254): *De principiis* (*MPG XI*); *Homiliae in Genesim, Commentarii in Genesim* (*MPG XII*). 39 ff.; 15, 44.
- PANTAENUS (d. shortly before 200). 36.
- PAPIAS of Hierapolis (ca. 130): Cf. Hieron. *De uir. ill.* 18. 36.
- PETRUS COMESTOR (d. 1179): *Historia scholastica* (*MPL CXCVIII*, 1053 ff.). An account in prose of the biblical writings; that of Genesis is of the usual mediaeval type, influenced mainly by Beda and Augustine; much cited by Vincent of Beauvais. 13.
- PETRUS DAMIANUS (d. 1072): *Commentaria in Genesim ex epistulis collata* (*MPL CXLV*, 991 ff.); allegorical.
- PETRUS DE RIGA of Rheims (d. 1209): *Aurora*, or *Bibliotheca* (fragmentary selections *ap. MPL CCXII*, 17 ff.). Poetical paraphrase of the Bible, including Genesis; revised by Aegidius.
- PETRUS LOMBARDUS (d. 1160): *Libri Sententiarum IV.* (*MPL CXCI*), the second book treating of creation. Beda and Augustine are the main authorities and little originality is displayed. An abbreviated version of the same was made by Bandinus (q.v.).
- PHILIPPUS SIDETES (ca. 430): *Χριστιανικὴ ἱστορία* (lost); began with an account of creation; cf. Phot. cod. 35.
- PHILO CARPATHIUS (CARPASIUS) (ca. 400): Author of a commentary on Canticles; Cosmas 329-30 cites a commentary on the Hexaemeron.
- PHILO JUDAEUS (fl. ca. 40 A.D.): *De opificio mundi* (L. Cohn and P. Wendland, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera*, Berlin, 1896-1906, Vol. I). 27 ff.; 5, 10, 15, 16, 43-44, 60.
- PHILOPONUS, JOHANNES (ca. 550): *De opificio mundi* (ed. Reichardt, Leipzig, 1897). 58; 5, 10.
- PHOTIUS (ca. 860): *Bibliotheca* (ed. I. Bekker, Berlin, 1824). A source for certain Hexaemera otherwise unknown.
- PLATO (427-347 B.C): *Timaeus*. Editions, J. Burnet, Oxford, 1905; R. D. Archer-Hind, London, 1888. 2 ff.; 29, 34, 43, 54, 84 ff., 90.
- PISIDES, GEORGIUS (ca. 640): *Hexaemeron* (text *ap. Hercher's ed. of Aelian*, II, Leipzig, 1866; *MPG XCII*). The *Monitum in Pisidae Hexaemeron* in Migne contains a list of writers on the Hexaemeron. 57, 89.
- PRISCILLIANUS (d. 385?): *Tractatus Genesis* (ed. G. Schepss, *CV XVIII*, 62 ff.). A sermon warning against the belief that the world is eternal or that the body was created by the devil, with brief and uncritical account of the Hexaemeron.

- PROBA, VALERIA FALTONIA (ca. 350): *Cento* (ed. C. Schenkl, CV XVI, 513 ff.; MPL XIX). A paraphrase of the biblical account made up of lines and half-lines of Vergil.
- PROCOPIUS GAZAEUS (ca. 520): *Commentarius in Genesim* (MPG LXXXVII, 21 ff.); drawn chiefly from Basil and Severianus.
- PROSPERUS AQUITANUS (ca. 400): *Carmen heroicum de diuina prouidentia* (MPL LI, 618 ff.); contains a brief incidental account of creation but not of the six days.
- PRUDENTIUS (ca. 405): *Commentarii de fabrica mundi* (lost); cf. MPL LIX Intr., and Gennadius *De script.* 13: ". . . commentatus est et in morem Graecorum Hexaemeron de mundi fabrica usque ad conditionem primi hominis et praeuaricationem eius."
- RALEIGH, SIR WALTER (ca. 1552-1618): *The History of the World* (cited in the edition printed for A. Constable & Co., Edinburgh, 1820, 6 vols.). Book I, chaps. i-ii, deal with Genesis. 89 ff.
- REMI of Auxerre (d. ca. 908): *Expositio super Genesim* (MPL CXXXI, 53 ff.). Modeled chiefly after Beda (especially in the interpretation of Gen. 1:2) with some trace of Ambrosian influence. Manitius 515.
- RHODON (180-193): *Hexaemeron* (lost). Cf. Euseb. *Hist. ecc.* V, 13, 8; Hieron. *De uir. ill.* 37.
- RICHARDUS DE DUMELLIS (d. 1100): *Commentary on Genesis*; a few fragments ap. MPL CLV, 1629 ff.; the rest said to be in MS. Allegorical.
- ROBERTUS SCRIBA (ca. 1190): *Lib. I. de operibus sex dierum* (cat. Oxon. n. 5105); see MPG XCII, 1391.
- RUPERT OF DEUTZ (ca. 1124): *Commentarii in Genesim* (MPL CLXVII, 199 ff.). The work in general treats of the same topics as Augustine and Ambrose (with the former he understands the first made light to refer to the angels, but he does not adopt his explanation of the meaning of the days).
- SALVIANUS (ca. 440): *Hexaemeron* (lost); Gennadius *De script.* 67: ". . . et in morem Graecorum a principio Genesis ad conditionem hominis composuit uersu Hexaemeron librum unum."
- SEVERIANUS OF GABALA (ca. 400): *Εἰς κοσμοποιάν λόγοι ζ'* (MPG LVI, 429 ff.). 57, 61 ff.
- SEXTUS JULIUS AFRICANUS (ca. 220): *Πεντάβιβλον χρονολογικόν* (lost; but see Phot. cod. 34). History covering the period from creation (placed at 5500 B.C.) to 221 A.D.; cited by some of the Hexaemeral writers; it may have included an account of creation according to Genesis. Cf. Eus. *Hist. ecc.* VI, 31; Hieron. *De uir. ill.* 63; Christ, 751; H. Gelzer, *Sextus Iulius Africanus*, Leipzig, 1898.
- STOICS. 14 ff.
- SUAREZ, FRANCISCO (1548-1617): *Tractatus de opere sex dierum, seu de uniuersi creatione*, etc. (ed. Birckmann, 1622; accessible to me only through Huxley, "Mr. Darwin's Critics," *Contemp. Rev.* XVIII, 443 ff.). Suarez believed that the six days were natural days and that living things and

vegetables were created in their species at first, and not derived from seminal principles as Augustine thought (*Tr.* II, 7, 8); and that the scriptural story of the creation of Eve is to be taken literally (*Tr.* III, 2, 3). "On the first of these days the materia prima was made out of nothing, to receive afterward those substantial forms which moulded it into the universe of things" (Huxley, *op. cit.* 455). 64.

SYMEON LOGOTHETES (ca. 963-969): Byzantine chronicler to whom are ascribed various chronicles beginning with a short account of the creation, which appears in the recension of Georgius Hamartolus (being drawn, with other material, from Symeon and added to the original of Georgius; cf. Krumbacher 355; text *ap.* MPG CX), Leo Grammaticus, Theodosius Melitenus, pseudo-Julius Polydeuces and an anonymous author *ap.* cod. Vat. gr. 163, in practically identical form. The account is a mere compilation, chiefly drawn from Basil for the six days' work and from Greg. Nyss. on the creation of man; there is a trace of the use of Philo (Praechter, "Unbeachtete Philonfragmente," *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Phil.* IX, 4, 415 ff.) and of Jubilees, in all but pseudo-Polydeuces (G. Schalkhauser, *op. cit.* 131). For an exhaustive study of the sources see Schalkhauser 143 ff. The compiler is not known; Schalkhauser 184-85 thinks it came from some late Greek florilegium; Praechter *op. cit.* believes that there were two forms of the account, drawn from some unknown source, one represented by pseudo-Polydeuces alone, the other by the remaining writers. On the connection of Symeon with the account see Schalkhauser 128 n.2. 57 n. 2.

SYNCELLUS, GEORGIUS (alive in 810): 'Εκλογὴ χρονογραφίας (*BC*, ed. W. Dindorf). His account of creation, 4, 19-5, 18, is compiled from Jubilees, and was used later by Cedrenus. The chronicle begins with a section on Gen. 1:1 and cites Greg. Naz. (4, 1-2). From Annianus, Hippolytus, and Maximus (cf. 597, 10 ff.) he takes the calculations placing creation on March 25 (1, 6-3, 3). He also cites Africanus to the effect that the first day was conceptual (4, 17-18), and Chrysostom (5, 19-6, 2) as authority for the statement that Adam was expelled from Eden on the sixth day.

TASSO, TORQUATO (1544-95): *Le sette giornate del mondo creato* (Viterbo, 1607). 89 ff.

TATIANUS ASSYRIANUS (ca. 165): *Oratio contra Graecos* (Otto, VI). 18 n. 4.

THEODORETUS episcopus Cyrensis (b. ca. 386-93, d. 458): *Quaestiones in Genesim* (MPG LXXX, 75 ff.). 57, 61 ff.

THEODORUS MOPSUESTIENSIS (ca. 350-428): *Commentarii in Genesim* (fragments *ap.* MPG LXVI; cf. Phot. cod. 38; acts of the second Council of Constantinople; Philoponus *De mundi opificio, passim*). 57, 59 ff.

THEODORUS PRODROMUS (ca. 1150): *Epigrammata in Vetus Testamentum* (MPG CXXXIII, 1101 ff.); poetical; of slight value.

THEODOSIUS MELITENUS (ca. 1000): Byzantine chronicler (*Theodosii Meliteni qui fertur chronographia*, ed. Tafel, Munich, 1859). Contains in full the account of creation found in Symeon Logothetes (q.v.); Krumbacher

362-63. Theodosius is cited in the notes *supra* as representative of all the authors who use the account of the Logothete.

THEOPHILUS of Alexandria (end of fourth century): Mentioned by Anast. Sin. together with Eusebius Emessenus (*q.v.*); an opponent of Origen; Gennad. *De script.* 34: "scripsit aduersus Origenem unum et grande uolumen in quo omnia paene dicta et ipsum pariter damnat."

THEOPHILUS ANTIOCHENUS (bishop of Antioch after 168): *Libri III ad Autolyicum* (Otto, VIII). 37 ff.; 15.

THIERRY OF CHARTRES (d. ca. 1150): *Hexaemeron* (part has been edited by B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, 1900, I, 52 ff.). 83 f.; 8, 87 f.

VICODUS (ca. 790?): *Quaestiones in Octateuchum* (MPL XCVI, 1101 ff.); a compilation without originality from Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Isidore, *et al.*

VICTORINUS PETAVIONENSIS (end of third century): *De fabrica mundi* (MPL V, 301 ff.; fragmentary). It is little more than a paraphrase of Genesis, distinguished by the symbolical interpretation of numbers.

VINCENTIUS BURGUNDUS of Beauvais (ca. 1240): *Bibliotheca mundi* (Douai, 1624). Vol. I, *Speculum naturale*, and Vol. IV, *Speculum historiale*, treat of creation incidentally.

WALAFRIDUS STRABUS (d. 849): *Glossa ordinaria* (MPL CXIII, 67 ff.); compiled from Augustine, Bede, Isidorus, etc. Manitius 305.

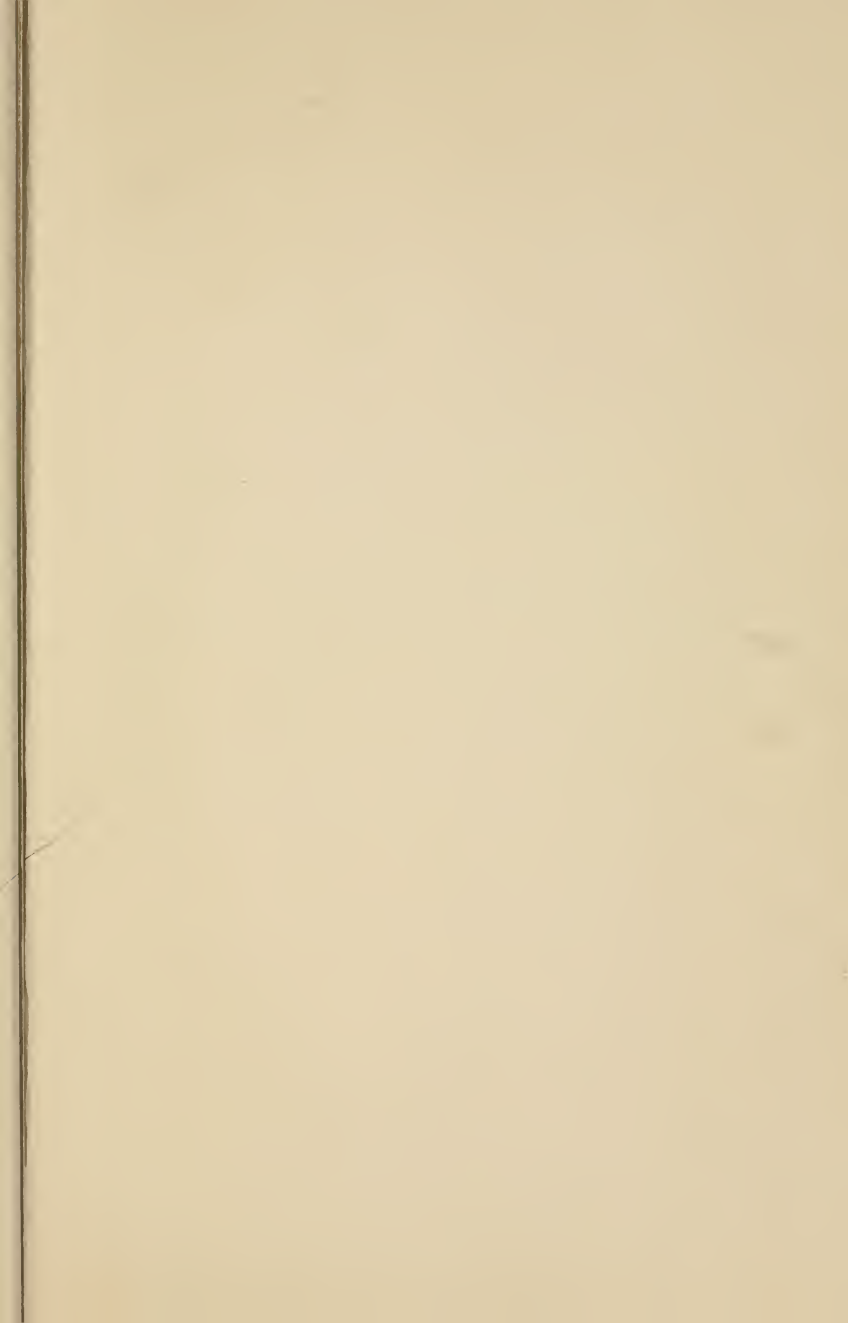
WANDALBERTUS OF PRÜM (ca. 850): *De creatione mundi* (MPL CXXII, 635 ff.). Short poem in pherecratics, showing some Hexaemeral influence, e.g., the identification of the light with the angels; the erect stature of man. Also printed in *Mon. Hist. Germ., Poetae Lat. Aevi Carolini*.

WILLIAM OF CONCHES (1080-1154): *De philosophia mundi*; *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (MPL CLXXII, as works of Honorius). 84.

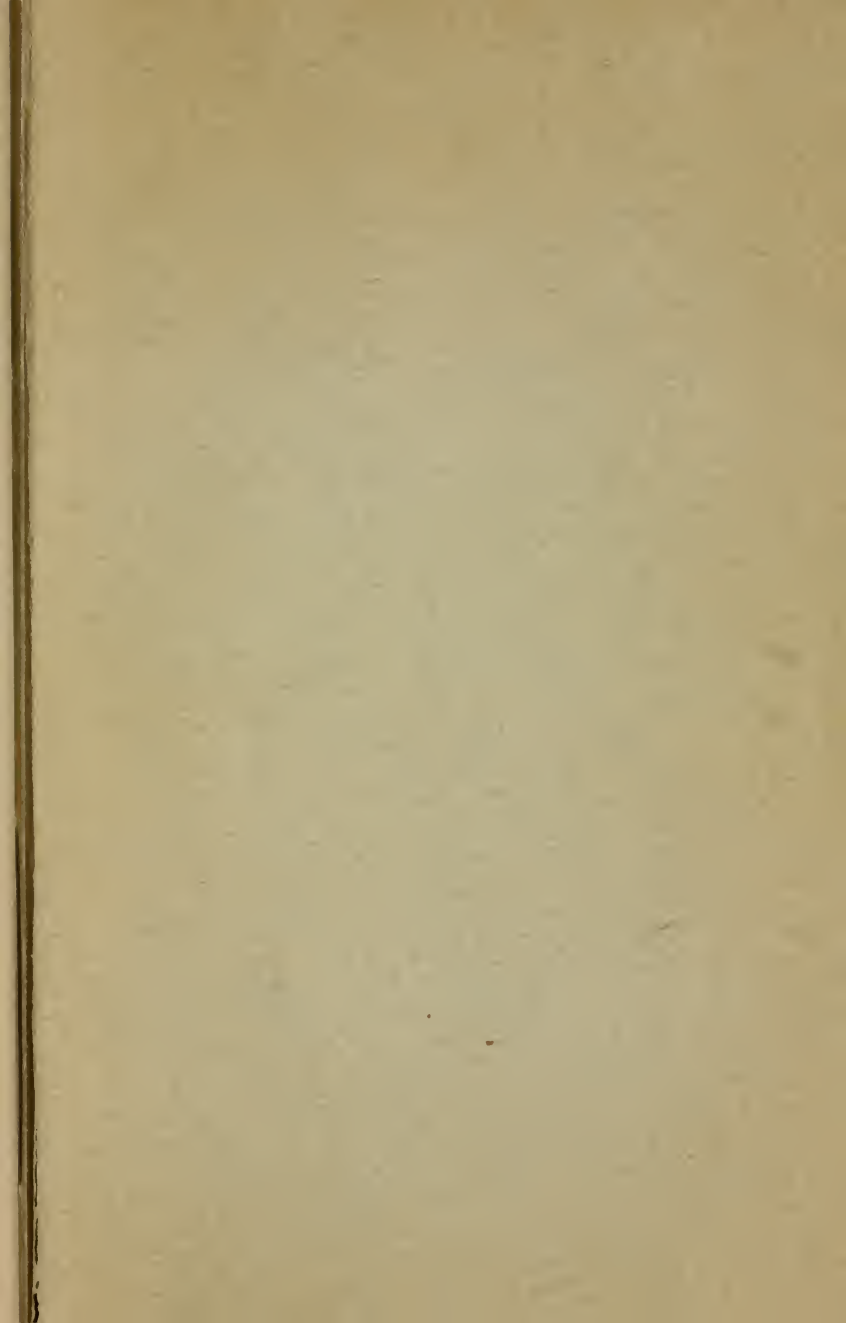
"WISDOM" LITERATURE. 24.

ZACHARIAS (ca. 540): *Disputatio de mundi opificio* (MPG LXXXV); a dialogue aiming to demonstrate that God created the world.

ZONARAS, JOHANNES (ca. 1100-1140): *Epitome historiarum* (ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1868). 12, 1-15, 29 contain an account of creation compiled from the Bible, Jubilees (cf. 13, 3-10), Josephus, and the account of Symeon Logothetes. Josephus is cited by name 15, 23, and Zonaras adopts certain phrases from him (e.g., cf. Zon. 13, 23 and Jos. *Ant. Jud.* 9, 18; Zon. 13, 31-32 and Jos. 9, 20). The most important citations of the account of the Logothete are those dealing with the making of the beasts (Zon. 14, 13-25 and Theod. Melit. 3, 27 ff.) and with the creation of man; other similarities show that Zonaras used the account freely. In stating that the firmament is hard, and not fine of texture (13, 14 ff.), he is probably objecting to the view there expressed. In 12, 1-14 he quotes Greg. Naz. (cf. Greg. *Or.* 45, 4-5).







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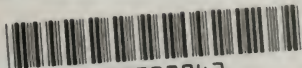
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